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18 April 1983

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EIGHT 'PROMINENT' FNLA MEMBERS SURRENDER

MB020558 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] The Angolan News Agency has announced that eight prominent members of the Angolan National Liberation Front [FNLA] puppet group surrendered to Angolan authorities on 18 March at the Noqui border post in the northern part of the country. Among those who surrendered are (Pedro Barreiro Quinhana), also known as commander (Barreiros), chief of general staff of the FNLA. The others are commanders (Manuel Figueira Antonio), (Neves Antonio), and commando instructors (Antonio Freitas Zala), (Familia Andrade), (Pedro Quissino Neto), and Eduardo Mozamo Lopes, and sergeant driver (Pedro Santos Monteiro).

This instance once again demonstrates that the puppet groups are disintegrating internally, and it confirms that the policy followed by the MPLA-Labor Party is correct since it has been resolutely neutralizing the malevolent designs of the bands, which are armed by imperialism, to destabilize the government of the People's Republic of Angola.

This surrender is not inconsistent with the policy of clemency for those who have been seduced by the enemies of the Angolan people, which was first announced by the late comrade president Dr Antonio Agostinho Neto, in Cabinda. Since that time such a policy has been impartially practiced with all those who sincerely regret their antipopular activities. The circumstances under which prominent members of a puppet group have voluntarily surrendered at the border with Zaire is another example of our existing good neighborly relations with that country, despite the concern that has been expressed by our people in view of the reports on relations between Zaire and the Zionist state of Israel.

CSO: 3442/175

ANGOLA

PRESS RELEASE SCORES RSA ACTIONS IN CUNENE

MB050630 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1200 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] The Angolan embassy in Gabon has issued a press release giving details about the dangerous and alarming situation that has been created by the South African troops following the occupation of a part of the Cunene Province. The press release says that during the past 3 months the area occupied by the racist troops has been marked by air and ground bombardments and by the deployment of large numbers of troops who have left many civilian victims during deep inland aggressions. The so-called buffalo battalion was reinforced with these troops and other battalions which have already taken up positions in the occupied areas.

The press release says that the South Africans have intensified their operation with large-scale actions designed to control the municipality of Xangongo and the localities of (Xioda), (Lebone) (Bova) and (Ukupa) in an attempt to consolidate their occupation of the Cunene Province and to move further north with the aim of destroying the railway line and the roads which link the Namibe and Huila Provinces. This is in order to isolate the population of these two provinces and, consequently, to destabilize the country politically and economically.

The press release points out that with this arrogant attitude, which has been taken thanks to the support received from the United States and other Western powers, the Pretoria leaders persist in delaying Namibia's rise to independence. Meanwhile, the Angolan government is prepared to negotiate with Pretoria, and Angola keeps its doors open for a (?third) high-level meeting.

The press release appeals to South Africa's allies to use their influence and demand Pretoria's unconditional and immediate withdrawal back across the borders of the People's Republic of Angola.

CS0: 3442/175

ANGOLA

EFFECT OF CUBAN PRESENCE IN COUNTRY DISCUSSED

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 18 Mar 83 p 4

[Commentary by Antonio de Sousa: "Angola: Easier Life When Cubans Leave"]

[Text] It is estimated that there are about 26,000 Cubans in Angola, and many Africans, including Angolans, believe it is high time that most of them leave.

According to UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi, their departure would facilitate the reconciliation between the MPLA, the Marxist party in power, and UNITA, the guerrilla opposition party. Namibia (Southwest Africa) would also have a better chance of achieving independence. South Africa has been reluctant to liberate the territory, which it has administered since 1920 under a League of Nations mandate, as long as the Cuban troops, which constitute a "communist threat," are stationed in Angola.

The Cuban propaganda stresses the role of its civilians in Angola, but the ratio is one civilian for every five Cuban soldiers.

The role of the Cuban civilians in Angola is not challenged. About 1,000 of them work on civil and highway construction, mainly in the areas near the capital of Luanda. From 300 to 800 of them provide medical assistance in the provinces. Although Cuba's technical level in this field is considered by medical professionals to be quite low, the Cubans have proved valuable to the Angolans, who have traditionally lacked medical care. There are also 1,000 student-teachers, whose average age, according to Havana, is 20. Their effectiveness is hampered, however, by their limited knowledge of the Portuguese language.

The use of Cuban troops, estimated at about 20,000 by Western and South African sources and at about 35,000 by Savimbi, is the point at issue. The Marxist Angolan regime claims it needs these troops to contain the South African attacks in southern Angola.

The guerrillas are fighting for Namibian independence, against the leftist organization SWAPO. UNITA maintains that the Cubans are in Angola to strengthen the MPLA regime. South Africa insists that the presence of Cuban troops in

Angola is meant to intimidate the population, in order to prevent the free elections provided for in a UN resolution for the process of Namibian independence. Johannesburg could have cause for concern.

The Cubans entered Angola in 1975, when the MPLA was a minority movement, at the time Portugal granted independence. Once the MPLA was installed in power by force of arms, the Cubans turned their attention to the internal opposition. In direct confrontations with the South African forces in 1977, the Cubans suffered heavy casualties and even began to avoid combat with them. Cleanup actions were conducted against UNITA, but the guerrillas still occupy one-third of southern Angolan territory. The Cubans now occupy the northern and central northern zones of Angola, with the strongest concentrations in Luanda and its environs.

When the South African troops invaded Angola in 1981, in pursuit of SWAPO guerrillas in August, and again in November, when Angola's only petroleum refinery was the target of sabotage, the absence of Cuban troops was notorious. Ever since the Cubans would no longer face the South Africans and could not manage to control the UNITA guerrillas, the people have been asking why they are still in the country. Black nationalist officers in the MPLA army resent the Cuban presence and have even begun to say that an alliance with UNITA would be a preferable alternative to serving as a tool of the Cubans. The population complains about the growing crisis, after 7 years of sustaining the Cuban troops, which is draining the nation's resources.

Official Angolan sources frequently refer to the need for a solution to the Namibian problem, which would solve their security problem in the south of Angola. "The withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, in conjunction with the departure of the South Africans from Namibia, is the cornerstone for the solution which we all desire," declared U.S. Vice President George Bush to Kenyan dignitaries in November 1983.

South Africa would be satisfied with the gradual withdrawal of the Cuban troops, joined to the withdrawal of the South African troops, according to South African Foreign Affairs Minister R. Botha. Even in Angola, there is a minority faction within the MPLA which believes that the country has greater possibilities for the future if the Cuban presence is reduced and economic relations are strengthened with the West.

If the Cubans left, Angola would begin to acquire international respectability and domestic prosperity. The United States, among other countries, is disposed to offer diplomatic recognition and economic support. The American Export-Import Bank recently granted \$85 million in credit to expand Angola's petroleum reserves. The country must have money for its reconstruction and its communist allies are not lending it.

UNITA opposition would also end. UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has referred favorably to a coalition government, but only if the Cubans withdraw. He considers them "the major, if not the only barrier to the process of achieving national reconciliation in Angola."

The Cubans have proved to be an enormous impediment to peace and development in Angola and, in the opinion of many Africans, most of them should return to their own country.

BRIEFS

FOOD SHORTAGE--The International Red Cross declared in Lisbon yesterday that the food situation is serious for thousands of persons on the central plateau of Angola. The next crops will not be harvested until April and the reserves of the October harvests have already been used up--David Vogelsanger, coordinator of Red Cross aid to Angola, emphasized. "There's not really a famine, but the deficiency in nutrition affects women, children and old people." Nearly 300 sobas, local chiefs of the Angolan central plateau, described the food situation in their villages, where the consequences of the politico-military problems are added to the natural phenomena. The International Commission of the Red Cross recently reopened the nutritional center at Kuito, Province of Bie, in order to provide for people in serious commission sent there by the village leaders. Vogelsanger announced that the present contingent of 25 Red Cross workers in Angola will be progressively reinforced. /Text/ /Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 9 Mar 83 p 8] 12, 116

GDR DONATION--A donation consisting of material for the manufacture of prosthetic devices, worth \$36,000 (nearly 144 million kwanzas) was presented yesterday to the State Secretariat of Former Combatants by the commercial attache of the GDR Embassy in Angola. The ceremony was held in the Luanda Physical Rehabilitation Center. Maj Jose Domingos Francisco Tuta (Ouro de Angola), state secretary for former combatants, was present at the ceremony. /Text/ /Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 27 Jan 83 p 2/ 12116

DECREE ON VEHICLES PURCHASE--A decree was recently published authorizing private Angolan companies to purchase motor vehicles. In its foreward, the decree states that "it is particularly important, in this phase, to support the local economic activity of the private sector," which is acknowledged to be lacking the means of transport "essential to the exercise of its productive and service activities." Another decree authorizes the purchase of motor vehicles by members of the party's Central Committee, members of the government, high-ranking officials, the physically disabled, high-level technicians, judges, outstanding workers and other individuals whose professional activity and family circumstances justify it." [Text] [Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 17 Mar 83 p 25] 6362

HEADMAN UNHAPPY ABOUT LAND ALLOCATED TO BASARWA COMMUNITY

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English No 24, 4 Feb 83 p 1

[Article by David Matshediso]

[Text] The Headman of Medie Village, Mr Kwenatsile Kgajwane has protested that his authority was undermined when portions of land in his village were allocated to the Basarwa Community, without him being consulted.

His protests, were however, countered by the Remote Areas Dwellers (RADS) Development Officer, Mr P. Pule who said if the headman was not consulted the Land Board could not have allocated the land for the settlement.

The Headman lodged his complaints at a Medie VDC meeting after the RADS Development Officer was introduced to the VDC members.

It was also after that Mr Pule had appealed to the VDC to accommodate RADS pupils in VDC houses to save them from travelling long distances to school.

Mr Pule also said some of the RADS were being discouraged from attending school by long distances which they cover every morning and afternoon.

He promised that if the VDC wanted rent for the use of its houses, his office would make arrangements for the paying of rentals so that these pupils could stay within the vicinity of the school.

When it was time for the VDC members to comment on Mr Pule's remarks, Headman Kgajwane stood up to lodge his protest. He claimed that he had heard that the RADS Development Officer was allocating the RADS some ploughing fields in his land without any consultations with him.

Mr Kgajwane said that his authority had been undermined by the officer when he allocated the settlement for the Basarwa Community in Media without consulting him. He demanded that before the VDC could consider his request for accommodating the children of RADS, the officer should come to him to make proper consultation.

After the meeting, the RADS Officer, Mr Pule dismissed the headman's claims. He explained that when the RADS settlement started in Kweneng in the Medie

area, the Chief's Representative, Mr S. Kgosidintsi and Medie Councillor, Mr M. Kelepile were consulted.

He told BOPA that the two signed applications to the Land Board. He said that if there was no consultation the Land Board could not have allocated the site.

He pointed out that if the headman was not consulted he should blame his seniors, the Chief's Representative at Lentsweletau because he was responsible for Medie, and the local councillor because they were both consulted. BOPA

CSO: 3400/1054

ZIANA INTERVIEWS OFFICIAL ON NKOMO, REFUGEES

MB050851 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 5 Apr 83

[Text] The Administrative Secretary in the Office of the President, Mr (Liba Mpotsokwane), has disclosed that the population of Zimbabwean refugees in Botswana has gone to over 3000 since the beginning of the trouble in the Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe. Mr (Mpotsokwane) was interviewed by a ZIANA reporter in his office here in Gaborone. The figure includes those who remained in Botswana when Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, but in February this year, the population was about 800. Mr (Mpotsokwane) explained that the refugees claimed they were running away from the activities of the Zimbabwean Army.

About reports that Zimbabwean refugees were leaving the Dukwe settlement without permission, he said it was not only the refugees from Zimbabwe who left without permission, but also refugees from other countries. Mr (Mpotsokwane) would not confirm or deny reports that some of the refugees from Zimbabwe went to South Africa for military training but only said some refugees leaving the settlement went to places like Francistown and Gaborone to find different places to live in.

On whether the government of Botswana was contemplating to open new camps to cater for the growing population of refugees, he said nothing warrants opening more camps.

About the coming into Botswana of Zimbabwean opposition leader Joshua Nkomo, Mr (Mpotsokwane) told the ZIANA reporter no official of the office of the president met Mr Nkomo when he crossed the border into this country. He explained that the first time the office of the president heard of his presence was when he was in Francistown. He said police had telephoned the office to report Mr Nkomo's arrival, and the police also first heard of his presence when he arrived in Francistown. Asked why the government of Botswana allowed Mr Nkomo into this country when he didn't carry a passport, Mr (Mpotsokwane) said Mr Nkomo did not go through the immigration entry point, but he crossed the border like other refugees from Zimbabwe.

About reports that some members and officials of Mr Nkomo's ZAPU party crossed into Botswana, Mr (Mpotsokwane) said he was not aware of any

particular ZAPU officials in Botswana. He, however, said he wasn't saying there were no officials in Dukwe but explained that he was only saying the government hasn't received reports of any particular ZAPU officials. He also pointed out that Mr Nkomo did not hold talks with any government official while he was here and said that all the government did was to arrange for him to leave.

About the rate of the refugee arrival in Botswana, Mr (Mpotsokwane) said Zimbabwean refugees were arriving in groups of 20, but there were days when groups of 50 crossed the border into here.

CSO: 3400/1102

PEREZ DE CUELLAR VISIT EMPHASIZES ANTIAPARTHEID STRUGGLE

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English No 25, 7 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] Throughout this past week, the focus of interest, if not fear, has been on the issue of destabilisation in Southern Africa. Leaders of the independent, majority-ruled states of the region accuse apartheid South Africa of deliberately destabilising their individual countries and of sabotaging SADCC, the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, the integrated regional economic alliance of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, that has been forged to break Pretoria's economic hegemony.

The issue was highlighted at last week's Pledging Conference of SADCC in Maseru, Lesotho. There, the Vice President, Mr Peter Mmusi who is Chairman of SADCC's Council of Ministers, appealed to the international community to help put a stop to South Africa's acts of sabotage and destabilisation in the SADCC member-states.

Pretoria's reaction to these accusations has been predictable. They are dismissed as part of the 'Marxist onslaught against the Republic.' In Parliament this week, Prime Minister Pieter Willem Botha said his regime was instead travelling along the road to peace with its neighbours, as evidenced by his meeting, he said, with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda on the border last year and by the recent talks between Angola and South African officials. He added, sarcastically, that if South Africa really wanted to destabilise its neighbours, it could take them out within a day.

From the regional perspective, however, the comments from Pretoria will be taken as not only being smug and glib but also failing to underscore the gravity of the situation. This is because such reaction and comment fails to explain away the overt support South Africa gives to dissident factions in some of the countries in the region and to its surrogates like UNITA in Angola and the so-called MNR in Mozambique.

It fails to explain away the bungled coup by South African mercenaries in the Seychelles; its efforts to seduce Swaziland with the Kangwane, Bantustan and the Ingwavuma Strip; the increased attacks of Angola and the heightened economic and military pressure against Zimbabwe.

Viewed from the regional perspective, all this, and the blowing up of fuel installations in Mozambique; the sabotage in the port of Beira and the massacre

in Lesotho, is a powerful weapon designed to keep the region divided and in turmoil while apartheid gets breathing space.

This perspective, it seems, is fortunately now beginning to be shared by many in the international community.

For example, the reported acknowledgement this week by United States Government officials that South Africa does bankroll the MNR, is a significant and welcome departure from its policy of 'constructive engagement' whereby it refuses to condemn South African acts of aggression. And at the SADCC Conference in Maseru, Foreign Ministers and diplomats of western democracies did not mince their words on the issue of destabilisation.

All this, when seen against the current visit of the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar to the Frontline States, emphasises the commitment of the international community to help turn the tide of growing tension and conflict in Southern Africa.

It has hitherto been the absence of such commitment on the part of western democracies to end the abhorrent system of apartheid that has led to the climate of despair, of fear, of cross-border raids and foreign intervention in Southern Africa.

CSO: 3400/1054

GOVERNMENT'S DROUGHT-RELIEF MEASURES CRITICIZED

Gaborone DAILY NEWS in English No 34, 18 Feb 83 p 4

[Article by Mishingo Mphaphadzi]

[Text]

TSWAPONG North villagers have criticised as the drought-relief measures adopted by Government.

Residents of the area told the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Mr Moutlakgola Nwako, that some people engaged in drought-relief projects in some villages have not received their wages for at least five months.

Mr Nwako is currently on a ten days tour of Tswapong North. The few villagers who had been paid reported that the wages were only for one month.

No reason, they added, was given for the delay of the wages.

In reply the Chairman of the Serowe/Palapye drought committee, who is also the District officer for that sub-district, Mr Tlotlang Motsholathebe said he would investigate the matter.

At Lerale cattle are dying in large numbers and villagers suspect that the death of livestock may be caused by contaminated water at one open borehole at the village.

Presenting problems confronting their village, Ratholo Tribesman noted with deep concern that medical facilities were scarce in that area and that the worst sufferers were students of Moeng Secondary school who travel a long distance to Palapye, sometimes for ailments.

Ratholo residents also requested the immediate transfer of the Headmaster of the local primary school because, they said, he was not cooperating with the committee.

The Minister heard during the several kgotla meetings that he held, that the Mophane farm, one of the region's source of income and the staple diet in Tswapong, had been greatly affected by the effect of drought.

Reports about the scarcity of water as a result of boreholes drying up were also heard in most of the villages that were visited by the minister.

CSO: 3400/1054

FOREIGN MINISTER DEFENDS NONALIGNMENT

Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 4 Mar 83 pp 6-7

[Report on interview with Silvino da Luz, Cape Verdian minister of foreign affairs; date and place not supplied]

[Text] The meeting of the nonaligned countries now taking place in New Delhi, India, was the topic of an interview with Silvino da Luz, chief of Cape Verdian diplomacy, who leads the ministerial delegation at that meeting.

We prefer not to go into the history of the movement here, but to discuss the international issues to be raised in that forum.

Aristides Perreira, president of the republic, has already departed for India to take part in the summit conference of chiefs of state, to take place from 7 to 11 March.

International Climate and the New Delhi Summit

"The next summit meeting of the nonaligned nations will take place at a particularly difficult moment for mankind. In effect, we are witnessing a growing deterioration of international stability, and dialogue is giving way increasingly to the use of force in solving problems, which is even becoming the custom. The international economic situation is deteriorating, with particular effect on the less developed countries. On our continent, the existence of pockets of tension is disturbing the peace and stability of certain zones, in an alarming crescendo which could even lead to a confrontation between the power blocs existing in today's world.

"The cohesion and unity of the nonaligned movement is threatened. Unfortunately, the tensions in other latitudes foreign to the nonaligned world have been brought into the movement.

Redefining Nonalignment

"Within the movement, there is a greater need than ever for a redefinition of nonalignment, its philosophical content, its action program and the methods to adopt to solve the various problems of both its members and the world in general.

"The movement must not be permitted to lose the progressive, anti-imperialist and anticolonialist sense in which it was created.

"Considering its founders, that is, people who had taken the measure of man, the political man, the political leader, and the era in which the movement arose, it is easy to understand its goal of aiding the small countries to defend themselves, to organize and to build something with the moral and political weight to allow the voice of the less-developed countries to be heard in the international arena, and also to defend the independence of these countries and to try to establish more effective cooperation between developing nations and the developed world, to defend the wealth contained in the less advanced countries and to safeguard the sovereignty of the member nations.

"However, when we speak of conflicts and confrontations, we are actually questioning whether the spirit of the founders has survived. There are profound disagreements, there are wars, and we feel this is divorcing the movement from the spirit that was initially created, so we must struggle to reaffirm the movement, to preserve its cohesion and safeguard its unity.

Nonalignment Inconsistent with the Bipolarization of the World

"There is an unfortunate trend toward bipolarization of the world. The world is divided into two camps: the bloc of the socialist or communist countries and the bloc of capitalist or imperialist countries, and there is an ideological struggle today between these two philosophical conceptions of the world.

"Problems that arise from this conflict have been brought into the movement. One or another country is led to take a stand for this or that bloc. This is wrong. The installation of foreign bases, as we have seen in various countries of the world, is not appropriate for developing countries such as ours, countries which must have peace and stability.

"To take a stand necessarily forces them to declare themselves pro-communist or pro-imperialist. I feel that to do so drains the movement of its meaning. On the other hand, I do not feel that to be nonaligned rules out alignment behind just causes.

India's Domestic Conflicts: Deliberate Speculation

"We have heard about the problems in India, but we must be cautious about evaluating the information that appears in the international press, because we do not have the facts that would enable us to analyze the situation objectively. In any event, India is one of the countries that have shown evidence of great political maturity and great determination to defend the existence of the Organization of Nonaligned Countries. In this respect, we feel that every measure will be taken to insure that the summit will take place in the most positive spirit.

International Forums: Generalized Crisis

"I would say that some international organizations, including the movement itself, are in danger. In many cases the law of the strongest has been

imposed, the use of force has become the standard of right in international practice. We have the example of East Timor, a country occupied, a people massacred, and, from one moment to the next, there is this whole attempt to prevent the problem from being brought to the forums, ignoring that Timor was a colony and that its people want their independence. This is cause for thought. It is situations like this that threaten the United Nations itself, because it is becoming a machine to create solutions that cannot be put into practice. The organization is being weakened.

"We have seen the Organization of African Unity refuse to discuss white-hot issues, which has led the organization to put off scheduling a meeting. We ask: Will the people be interested in the existence and survival of these organizations?

"There is reason for doubt and relative pessimism, but there are also lessons in history which lead us to conclude that, in the end, reason will prevail and that these bodies and organizations will survive, with more power and cohesion.

The Word Hoped For from the Nonaligned

"Today's world is certainly undergoing great conflicts. On this continent we have the problem of the Sahara, the problem of Chad, the solution to which must be found in the African forum. There are problems which have jolted the organization and should only go to other forums after a solution is found at the level of the OAU. There are other problems, such as the Iran-Iraq conflict. There is the problem of Southeast Asia.

"In the case of Iran and Iraq, both members of the nonaligned movement, every effort should be made to find a solution. The possibility of putting an end to war is an encouraging position, particularly in relation to the great world conflicts. Wars come about, in most cases, to resolve political problems, and they should end by political discussions. In our opinion, the Namibian problem is a colonial problem. It had been debated for years in international forums; a UN resolution providing for the decolonization of Namibia was approved almost unanimously and was even accepted by South Africa. We think every effort must be made to implement this resolution. One thing that must come out of this meeting is to try to give such organizations as the United Nations full force and meaning and to recognize the role that falls to them in the political life of humanity."

6362
CS0: 3442/177

BARDAI RADIO: HABRE, NUMAYRI FIGHTING OVER AID

AB281815 Bardai Chadian National Radio (Anti-Habre) in French 1800 GMT
27 Mar 83

[Text] Ever since Franco-American imperialism was given a diplomatic beating at the Tripoli African summit, we knew that Washington and Paris would not be content with their defeat and remain with their fingers crossed. The organization of the so-called French-African summit in Kinshasa, Zaire, in order to crown Hissein Habre as the best imperialist agent for the year was only a diplomatic counteroffensive for imperialism and reactionaries.

The gloomy sessions at the Zairian capital were even more anachronistic, as the organizers did not hesitate to call them the French-African summit, as if a whole continent only had the weight of one European state. Even the choice of Zaire, Patrice Lumumba's assassin, the bridgehead of Zionism on our continent, was not by chance. Mobutu, the hostage of American blackmail--has the United States not threatened several times to reveal his secrets--Mobutu, the principal agent of the CIA in central Africa and an antenna for Zionism on the continent, was chosen for the joint role of taking care of the Chadian affair. He was constantly in contact with another agent, Numayri, whose country has an American military base. Both of them are (?helping) Habre, the new (?lackey) of French-American imperialism in central Africa. The bloody Mobutu, who has been denounced by Amnesty International for his numerous violations of human rights and for his abominable crimes, was chosen to serve as an intermediary in the secret talks in Kinshasa between FAN delegation and Ari'el Sharon, former Israeli defense minister, who dirtied his hands with Palestinian blood.

It was also in Kinshasa that Hissein Habre's envoy to Tel Aviv was to transit via Cairo. Recently, a cargo of arms and ammunitions sent by Begin to his new friend, Habre, aboard Zairian Armed Forces planes could pass through Zairian (?territory) before being ferried to Ndjamena. Once these war materials delivered by the Zionists reach Ndjamena, American, Israeli, French and Egyptian advisers feverishly prepare for training in the use of these materials. This (?procedure) has been confirmed in its minutest detail by prisoners captured during the battle in Gour and in (Kounyanga).

As for agent Numayri, he is the one who is responsible for giving Hissein Habre the military budget allocated by the Pentagon to the bandits and puppets of Ndjamena. The recent visit of the slaughterer of Chadian people to Khartoum is in connection with this matter of big American money. In any case,

everybody knows that there was a (?quarrel) between Hissein Habre and Numayri over the sharing of the financial cake. The former accuses his former host and protector of embezzling money donated by the Americans. Numayri was furious and regretted having given his support to the Ndjama gangster.

Even though it is often said that wolves do not eat each other, this obscure matter shows the intensity with which the two sleeping dogs of imperialism are fighting over the financial bone which Washington is throwing to them to repress the Sudanese and Chadian peoples.

CSO: 3419/731

BARDAI REPORTS SABOTAGE ACTIVITIES OF ANL

AB281300 Bardai Chadian National Radio (Anti-Habre) in French 1800 GMT
27 Mar 83

[Text] In the first 2 weeks of March, commandos of the National Liberation Army [ANL] burned 1,800 bales of cotton in (Fokabri) in the Moyen Chari region; they burned down 200 tons of cotton and captured the head of the factory in Boulou in the Logone oriental region and burned another 200 tons of cotton in (Baynamar) in the Logone occidental region.

In fact, according to our permanent correspondent in Ndjamena, the sabotage activities launched by the commandos of the ANL against agro-economic interests of French and American imperialism in this part of the country constitute acts of reprisals against military operations of French troops in that part of the country. It should be noted that it was Mitterrand's French troops who arrested and handed over to Central African Republic authorities more than 300 Chadian refugees last February. The same French troops tortured to death and caused bodily harm to civilians in the south of the country. By destroying more than 360 tons of cotton, the commandos of the ANL want to prove to the Barracuda--French troops stationed in the CAR--that in spite of their backstabbing operations, they are determined to carry on the armed revolutionary struggle to the end.

But what does the quantity of cotton burned represent [words indistinct]? This important quantity of cotton burned in the factories or depots represents French and American capital. The French (?capitalists) intended to sell the cotton to buy arms for their henchman, Hussein Habre, who kills and massacres peasants daily. With this severe blow, the commandos of the ANL want to demonstrate to national and to international opinion the just struggle they are waging to free the Chadian people from neocolonialist exploitation and the dictatorship established by the reactionary forces of FAN, supported by Franco-American imperialism.

CSO: 3419/731

COPWE STATEMENT ON NATIONALITIES ISSUE

EA042122 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic 1700 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Statement issued by Commission for Organizing the Party of the Workers of Ethiopia Central Committee concerning the announcement on the establishment of the Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities; date not given]

[Text] Classes and relations between them play a decisive role in the life of a society founded on the principle of private ownership. The nationalities issue is not an alpha and omega on its own, but is part and parcel of classes and relations between them. Nationality, however, is not the determining factor in political issues, language, culture, or religion; in these spheres the decisive role is performed by class advantage.

This statement does not require analysis in depth. It suffices to look back to what our revolution experienced: The former leading landowners and other reactionaries whose advantages were adversely affected by it formed a united front, regardless of their respective nationalities, in opposition to the people's struggle. The working masses of the various nationalities joined hands in the realization that the revolution would make them victorious in their struggle for true freedom. It is clear that the decisive factor dividing the two sides was no other than that of class advantage. The ruling class united to preserve their exploitation-based advantages; the working classes stood together to rid themselves of this exploitation.

Thus we can understand that nationality or other social differences can arise only out of the struggle to preserve class and attendant advantages. This is what reactionaries obfuscate in their effort to win over the working masses in the name of nationhood or nationality.

National identity serves the interests of workers only to the point at which they succeed in shaking off oppression and exploitation. Nationality subsequently drummed up in their name offers them no additional advantage. Accordingly, they will never support any movement rooted in nationhood or nationality. It would be foolish, in this respect, to forget the untold crimes committed during World War II by nazi Germany and fascist Italy in the name of national superiority.

Today, by using agents who pretend to represent the masses under the slogan of nationality, imperialism and reaction are seeking to reimpose the yoke of

oppression and exploitation upon peoples who have shaken it off with great sacrifices. The criterion of nationality lies in the answer to the questions: What class does it side with? The fundamental question is: Does it desire to throw off exploitation or impose the yoke of exploitation? This is a question that deserves more attention. It is very difficult to distinguish between a true supporter of freedom for the workers and the pitfall unless each is examined in terms of direction and role in prevailing national and international struggle conditions.

The correct attitude to nationality should not be within the confines of freedom for any one nation, for the struggle of the working class is international even if it is being waged within the arena of individual nations. It therefore never ignores the struggles of workers of other nationalities for freedom, insofar as those struggles seek the same freedom. Only the socialist revolution can advance the worker's cause in this respect. The socialist revolution alone is able to resolve interclass opposition within one nation and bring to realization the superiority of the worker, and in this way resolve the developmental imbalances between nations and differences brought about by exploitation and oppression. Antagonism between nations must be dissolved in that as such antagonism is the symptom of private ownership of the means of production. The abolition of private ownership and its replacement with communal ownership will resolve antagonism between nations. When a government acts to construct socialism, and thus assures the superiority of the working masses and their rights and interests, relations between nations and nationalities will accordingly develop in a balanced manner and strengthen within the context of healthy cooperation. Classes will fade away with the ending of palpable cultural divisions between the exploiting and exploited classes within all nations or nationalities.

[EA042132] A new and developed socialist system can be built by enabling the working class to take advantage of cultural amenities from which it was formerly excluded, thus freeing it from the cultural oppression imposed upon it, by ridding the nationalities of obsolete ideas, chauvinism, narrow nationalism, and regionally centered hatreds, and by demolishing negative cultural aspects and traditions.

The socialist society plans and directs its economic structure not only in terms of individual economic sectors but by bringing about balanced development to embrace all its geographical areas. The capitalist system effects different developmental stages among various societies, thus bringing about imbalances in economic development. National antagonisms are germane to the capitalist system, because within it man is entitled to exploit man. It is a characteristic of the unbalanced capitalist economy to bring about industrial development in one nation while confirming others within the limits of a backward agricultural economy. This situation of fundamental imbalance arises out of the fact that capitalism concerns itself with profit rather than with the welfare of people. The socialist system, on the other hand, is fundamentally concerned with the welfare of people. It therefore acts to bring about balanced development for all nations and nationalities; it tries to rectify the development of nationalities formerly oppressed by being subjected to the policy of imbalance, and thus to raise them to the level of other more developed nationalities.

In societies in which private ownership has flourished, nationalities are hostile to one another, while under socialism they support each other. By bringing about changes in the ownership of property within the various developmental sectors, socialism puts the unity of the workers of different nationalities on a strong economic foundation. In the agricultural sector, the vista of scattered smallholdings develops into the broader vista of large-scale communal ownership for the communal good. The expansion of agriculture-based industry will strengthen the solidarity between farmer and worker, broaden the farmers outlook and prompt him to work harder. Thus, not only will the national economy develop but the working class will broaden without being affected by narrow nationalism.

The balanced development of light and heavy industry constitutes a fundamental step toward solving differences between nationalities. There is a great advantage to be found in building the socialist economy on the foundation of heavy industry in that it serves to resolve national hatreds and chauvinism by bringing together different nationalities--which are more dangerous than different classes--in fraternity. This development of industry serves to integrate the developmental stages applying to various areas. It also serves to create a prosperous social class and promote unity among nationalities.

Although the development of the socialist economy has the highest priority in terms of the efforts made toward adopting the correct approach toward bringing about good relations between nationalities, politics also has its role to perform. The principles and practical application of socialism uphold the superiority of the working class. The first action of a socialist revolution is to seize political power from the exploiter and then to introduce socialist democracy by transferring power to the working class. Such a form of political transference enabled the workers' government to lay a new political foundation on which the nationalities will find new dimensions within which to build up relations of cooperation. Thus socialism will provide a system within which the common advantages and national and communal rights of different nationalities will find respect, the enemies of the people and the revolution will founder, and the oppression of nationalities will cease entirely.

In general, the socialist economy constitutes a firm foundation for socialist politics and it is socialist politics that guarantee the certain development of the socialist economy. This integration is achieved through the implementation of the directives of the primary party of the working class.

[EA042134] The workers constitute the cornerstone of the socialist government, but the solidarity of the farmers and other democratic forces with them is also of prime importance. Active worker representation in all governmental structures, in all political, economic, social and cultural affairs, in administration, management and in control is accordingly indispensable. Such participation by all workers indicates the equality of the nationalities.

The socialist economy is a planned economy, but its aim is not merely to develop the economy; the plan has political as well as economic aspects and, as such, it serves to develop equality among the nationalities through economic development. Accordingly, the new socialist government's revolutionary policy on nations, nationalities and other social groupings will give

their equal development practical expression. The economic measures adopted by the socialist government will form the basis for averting the oppression of nationalities and for bringing people closer together.

The political steps to be taken will also be very important. Constant long-term sacrifices must be made to put an end to chauvinism and narrowmindedness. The progress requires constant education. These aspects must be considered in tandem with accepting and implementing the right of the nationalities to self-determination in the political sphere. Assuring and supporting the rights of the nationalities through the constitution will serve to strengthen their aspiration to coexist willingly. It will obviate suspicion and will also contribute toward the structuring of the government's foreign policy. The nationalities will accordingly develop confidence in the revolution. Favorable conditions will be created under which the nations, nationalities and other social groupings will form closer links and develop on a basis of peace, socialism and democracy.

The development of nationalities toward supporting each other on a basis of equality is related to the development of the social system, but the cultural revolution is another fundamental factor. Nationalities existing in an environment characterized by imbalances in economic development are affected by distortions in their cultural development. Such a state of affairs represents an obstacle in the way of creating healthy relations among nationalities. Ultimately, unity can only develop within a framework of balanced cultural and technological development and a context of rapid industrial, scientific and technological advance. In order to overcome the stage of cultural imbalance it is therefore essential to uplift the backward to the level of the advanced in terms of development, and to do this illiteracy, cultural backwardness and retrograde thinking must be overcome. A new culture must be introduced by means of broadening internationalism and enabling educated people of all nationalities to flourish. Thus it will become possible to unify the assets of both class and nationality and to create a new and developed society characterized by internationalism and socialist patriotism.

CSO: 3403/38

BOTCHWEY: IMF SUPPORT NOT IN CONFLICT WITH REVOLUTION

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 4 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Kojo Yankah]

[Text]

FINANCE and Economic Planning Secretary, Dr Kwesi Botchwey, has said that there is no incompatibility between the economic and social goals of the PNDC Economic Recovery Programme and the mere fact of the country's membership of the International Monetary Fund.

"What we have done," he said, "is that we have been able to persuade the Fund to accept our proposals which set the condition that we would be able to live within the targets we have set ourselves."

In an interview yesterday on the announced IMF support for Ghana's economy, Dr Botchwey reiterated that it is necessary for Ghanaians to get away from the IMF xenophobia. Any criticism of the Fund must be based on objective analysis of the impact of the IMF policies on member countries which pursue them, he said.

It is meaningless, he added, to say that membership of the Fund is reactionary. There are communist countries which are still members of the Fund — China, Hungary

and Vietnam, to mention a few.

The PNDC Recovery Programme seeks essentially to prepare the conditions for developing a self-reliant and integrated national economy.

Launching the programme a few weeks ago, Dr Botchwey had set the concrete aims as, to eliminate local and foreign exploitation, to increase production in food and industrial raw materials, to lower the rate of inflation and to improve the distribution of goods and services.

These aims, Dr Botchwey told the "Graphic" yesterday, do not suggest a complete severance of economic relationship with capitalist countries. Simply, he said, the programme seeks to restruct-

ure social and economic relations in such a way as to make dynamic development essentially internal.

"What must be understood is that even a formally socialist economy cannot survive without sound monetary and fiscal policies," Dr Botchwey stressed.

The Finance Secretary emphasized that what is important is for a member country (of the IMF) to set up its goals compatible with its national interest and to ensure that conditions on which agreement to draw Fund reserves are reached are compatible with those goals.

For a government for whom the interest of workers is paramount, the difference relates to how the

burden of the monetary and fiscal adjustment is shared", Dr Botchwey said, adding that "in our case the brunt will be borne by the parasitic elements who want to make millions overnight without sweat and in violation of existing laws."

On the negotiation itself Dr Botchwey said it ended with the IMF agreeing in principle to allow Ghana to draw 150 per cent of her quota, which is her maximum on a standby credit. Further, depending on further technical calculations, Ghana will also be drawing 100 per cent of her quota under the Compensating Financing Facility (CFF).

In addition, the World Bank has also agreed to reactivate the export rehabilitation programme in the cocoa, timber and mining sectors of the economy to the tune of some \$100 million.

Dr Botchwey said another facility would entitle Ghana to a quick disbursing reconstruction credit to help in rehabilitating the transport and agriculture sectors.

Asked how his team managed to clinch agreement with the IMF on virtually Ghana's own terms, Dr Botchwey said: "We went to the Fund with a programme drawn up and

launched by us. We are obliged by virtue of our membership of the Fund (which I still consider desirable) to have consultations with the group.

"We are entitled to the use of the Fund's resources under conditions which are mutually acceptable. Don't forget that we have a quota in the Fund to which we subscribe partly in gold and partly in our currency."

He explained further that "you don't go to the Fund and ask for any amount you want. You are only entitled to resources whose magnitude is dependent on your quota. Ghana's quota does not entitle her to one billion or two billion dollars, (which will be ideal). Where the Fund is convinced that you are pursuing a programme which is optimal, then they may agree to a standby agreement which entitles you to your maximum quota drawing. And in our recent discussion we were able to reach agreement to withdraw our maximum which is 150 per cent of our quota."

Dr Botchwey said that it would have been most incompetent or even ridiculous if Ghana had gone to request resources larger than she is legally entitled to. "Anybody who believes we asked for a billion or more dollars only demon-

trates abysmal ignorance of operative rules in the Fund's articles of agreement," said Dr Botchwey.

The Finance Secretary who was a lecturer in Law at Legon and has taught International Trade and Investment Law for over 10 years sounded quite confident and even remarked that "the Fund was impressed by the level, quality, and technical competence of our preparation."

The Fund accepted Ghana's proposal for a system of bonuses for export and surcharges on imports, "a system which was not conventional, and we were able, in spite of the unconventionality, to persuade the Fund to accept this."

Why did the Fund accept this? Dr Kwesi Botchwey says, "It is because they were convinced it was viable" and secondly because "we demonstrated our capability to implement it". He cited as an example that in the past year, in the face of very difficult circumstances, the government was able to hold down an explosive budget deficit and reduce rate of growth of money supply to its lowest in several years in this country's history.

Asked whether the agreement (in principle) was a pointer to getting the economy out of the woods, Dr Botchwey stated that the agreement is for a year initially and the Fund agreed that since recovery

cannot be expected in a year, this first year should be seen as "The first stage in an extended three-year programme."

"Graphic" referred to main elements of normal IMF package which recommended domestic anti-inflationary policies: devaluation of the currency and encouragement of foreign investment, which usually crippled Third World countries. To this the Finance Secretary replied that such conditions did not arise.

"In any case," he stressed, "we made provision, in our own programme, in protecting the working class and we also said that state enterprises must be run efficiently. We also said we would review the price mechanism and mobilise the people for increased production."

In the area of investment, he added that we had stated our stand that promotion of foreign investment would have to be consistent with our own goals. "There were no conditionalities that would put a burden on the working class, by way of wage freeze and so on," he said.

On the point about immediate currency convertibility and the value of Ghana's currency, Dr Botchwey mentioned that the IMF did not make such a request but "we ourselves have decided that following the launching of the programme, we would be watching closely the beha-

viour of the currency of our French-speaking neighbours, in particular, the rate of growth of inflation, and ensure that as far as possible the real value (exchange rate) of the cedi does not fall behind developments in the CFA zone.

On International confidence in the economy, the Secretary for Finance said with pride that Ghana has maintained a fairly satisfactory record in debt-servicing over the past year and "furthered by the agreement with the Fund, this has helped put a lot of confidence in international financial circles." In fact, he added, "we are in touch with a number of international commercial banks which have shown keen interest in helping us to mobilise resources outside the Fund."

Finally, Dr Botchwey was asked the difference between the effect of the PNP government — IMF package and that of now. His answer was: "The PNP proposals were not accompanied by any package for restructuring."

Secondly the PNP didn't have the moral strength to mount effective mobilization aimed at raising productivity with resources available to us.

Thirdly in the monetary area, the PNP package did not envisage a mechanism which would permit some degree of discrimination between different economic transactions."

NEW BRANCH OF GHANA-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY OPENS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 14 Feb 83 p 5

[Text]

GHANAISANS trained in the Soviet Union should show by their work and other examples that the kind of training in that country is the type that developing countries need and that it is in no way inferior to that acquired elsewhere.

This is necessary because the experience built by the Soviet Union over the years is relevant to the needs of Ghana in her development efforts and the PNDC would tap to the full the potentials of Ghanaisans trained in the Soviet Union.

The statement was made by Mr P. V. Obeng, PNDC Co-ordinating Secretary when he inaugurated the Tema branch of Ghana-Soviet Friendship Society at the week-end.

He disclosed that five Soviet experts, two planners and three statisticians have been in the country for the past three months advising the Government on some aspects of the country's re-construction programme.

The Co-ordinating Secretary urged the Ghana-Soviet Friendship Society to encourage people to broaden their knowledge to increase human development efforts and further urged the society to serve as a pressure group to lobby for bilateral agreements between the two countries, especially on the Tema Technical Training Institute.

The Soviet Ambassador in Ghana, Mr Anatoly Ivantsov, stated that there has been a solid friendship between Ghana and the Soviet Union since the independence of the former.

He said the Soviet Embassy will this week take delivery of baby food and drugs worth \$15,000 in aid of Ghanaisans repatriated from Nigeria.

CSO: 3400/1053

GHANA

BUADI WARNS AGAINST MISUSE OF COMMITTEE POSTS

AB040908 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] A member of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Warrant Officer Adjei Buadi, has stressed that the council would not protect any defense committee member who misuses his position. Addressing a fund raising rally at Mpraeso in the eastern region, Warrant Officer Adjei Buadi emphasized that the defense committees were not instituted to harrass the rich and the elderly. He stressed that the revolution itself is not for the youth of the country alone; neither is it against the rich. Rather the revolution is for all Ghanaians to change their old and bad habits.

Kwamina Ahwei, coordinator of the national investigations, vetting and public tribunals, said the PNDC is conscious of the fact that not all wealth was acquired illegally. The council shares the view also that not all Ghanaians have been failing to fulfill their tax obligations. It is for this reason that certain institutions like the Citizens Vetting Committee have been set up to do justice to all sectors of the community.

The eastern regional secretary, Lieutenant Colonel Twum-ampofoh, said the PNDC will import sufficient food to offset the present food shortage caused by drought and bushfires. The fund raising rally was held in aid of GBC's [Ghana Broadcasting Corporation] rehabilitation.

A businessman of Accra, E.S. Bediako, donated 26,000 cedis at the rally. The Acting Director General of the GBC, Kwame Karikari, said the government has invited some foreign companies to study the problems of the corporation with the view of helping in its rehabilitation.

CSO: 3400/1101

RAWLINGS URGES NATIONAL TREE-PLANTING PROGRAM

AB040651 Accra Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 4 Apr 83

[Text] The chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings, has charged the Ghana forestry association with the responsibility of coordinating a national tree-planting program. A statement from the office of the PNDC yesterday said this has become necessary because of the rate at which the nation's forests are being reduced by bush fires, indiscriminate felling and clearing and their adverse effects on tree crops such as cocoa and oil palm and on supplies of firewood, charcoal and timber. It is also causing deterioration in soils and water resources, and it is allowing dry climate conditions to penetrate further into the country each year.

The statement asked the association to involve its members in every district of the country and the people in the establishment of community fuel-wood plantation, the planting of shade and fruit trees and the encouragement of agro-forestry. To do this effectively, communities must be encouraged to establish tree nurseries to produce their own planting materials instead of depending on the limited facilities of government agencies.

At a recent seminar in Kumsai, the Ghana forestry association decided to liaise with world organizations--governmental and otherwise--to organize a tree-planting program concentrating especially on community efforts operating through PDC [People's Defense Committee] youth schools, youth organizations and concerned citizens. The program is to be formally launched on the 5th of June this year, which is the World Environmental Day. But the emphasis will be on the continued and sustained planting and care of trees and not on isolated token-planting ceremonies.

CSO: 3400/1100

BRIEFS

UN REPRESENTATIVE COMMENTS ON AID--A U.N. mission will soon arrive in the country to assess the seriousness of the food situation and work out how best it can assist both in medium and long-term basis to solve the problem. This was disclosed by the UNDP [UN Development Program] resident representative in Ghana, Alfred (Ubanda), when he paid a courtesy call on the chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Rawlings, at the castle today. Explaining why the United Nations is taking this action, Mr (Ubanda), who is also the UN resident coordinator, said that when rains failed in the northern and upper regions, he estimated a shortfall in food production. Large quantities of cereals were therefore sent to the two areas to alleviate the sufferings of the people. Mr (Ubanda) said a lot more has happened to worsen the situation in the country. These are the bushfires and the outbreak of pest which have destroyed crops in several parts of the country and the return home of many Ghanaians from Nigeria. He said this led to a request for 280,000 metric tons of food from the FAO and other nongovernmental agencies. [Text] [AB312030 Accra Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 31 Mar 83]

SWISS ENVOY LEAVES--The Swiss Ambassador to Ghana, Michale Van Schenck, has left Accra for reposting to Finland, after 3 years in Ghana. [AB010852 Accra Domestic Service in English 0700 GMT 1 Apr 83]

CSO: 3400/1100

MARCH FOR 'AFRICAN ZONE OF PEACE' HELD

AB011716 Paris AFP in French 1428 GMT 1 Apr 83

[Text] Bissau, 1 Apr (AFP)--Thousands of persons paraded on Thursday evening in Bissau during a march for an "Africa zone of peace" organized by youth and students movements of several African and Latin American countries.

The procession was preceded by a meeting presided over by Victor Saude Maria, the prime minister of Guinea-Bissau. At the end of this meeting, a "Bissau appeal" was issued criticizing arms races and the setting up of military bases in Africa.

A serious threat of world war is facing humanity, indicated the text of this appeal, which stresses that "the aggressive policy of imperialism, especially American imperialism, is in the process of expression in Africa through the establishment of military bases and the acquisition of military facilities in a certain number of African countries in order to try and keep the African continent within the world capitalist system or orbit."

Imperialism is also trying to "destroy African progressive regimes by using the apartheid regime of South Africa as an instrument of imperialist policy in southern Africa," this appeal states.

The "Bissau appeal" states that the United States is trying to create a "South Atlantic Treaty Organization" as NATO's aggressive wing.

The "Bissau appeal" and march marked the end of a series of demonstrations organized by the youth of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

Participating in the various demonstrations are the International Students Union, the Pan-African Students Union, the World Democratic Students Federation and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

Representatives of youth movements of the ANC (South Africa), Angola, Congo, Czechoslovakia, Salvador, GDR, Liberia, Madagascar, Mozambique, SWAPO of Namibia, Sao Tome, Senegal, Tanzania, Togo and the USSR also participated in the demonstrations.

CSO: 3419/726

REACTION TO CALL FOR POLITICAL RESIGNATIONS

AB010905 Monrovia Radio Elwa in English 1900 GMT 31 Mar 83

[Text] Following Commander in Chief Doe's pronouncement yesterday to potential politicians desirous of running for office in 1985 to make their positions clear within 30 days, many outstanding officials holding key positions in the present government have begun making their positions clear.

In today's caption of the independent DAILY OBSERVER newspaper "Oscar Quiah Seeks Clarification," the paper quoted him as telling reporters that there are several questions that needed to be clarified to potential politicians. Mr Quiah, a former political activist of the defunct People's Progressive Party, PPP, questioned: Now that there is a ban on politics, if people register their intentions now by resigning, what will happen to them in the interim? He further asked: Are they now eligible to go out and shake hands or should they sit down and fold their hands in their bedrooms?

The DAILY OBSERVER further quoted Mr Quiah as saying if the clarification is given, he thinks potential people may like to make use of that opportunity adding: As the ban is still on there is no way anybody will shake hands anywhere around the country, so there is a contradiction that needs to be clarified. The former secretary general of the PPP said with the new constitution coming into force in 1985, there is the question of whether the People's Redemption Council, PRC, will still have the right to determine who runs for political office and who does not run.

When approached by reporters, the minister of youth and sports, Lt Col Fred Blay, said he could not yet adequately comment on the head of state's resignation call, adding: It's something that a man has to go home and study, even if you want to resign or if you want to remain on your desk.

For his part, Labor Minister E. Sumo Jones said his own interpretation of what he believed the head of state meant is that if one is impatient now instead of waiting for the proper time, his official functions will conflict with his political ambition. Minister Jones, a former senator of the defunct Tolber government, said one may as well resign now than move clandestinely, adding: You don't have to resign if you are patient to wait and when the proper time comes. [as published]

When approached, Finance Minister Jones said he thought the head of state had already put the thing on the line, especially when he talked about cabinet ministers or officials who might have top political interest to make their stand known now.

[Begin recording] [Doe] It is for all officials of government in ministries or public corporations to make their positions clear within one month from 30 March to 30 April 1983 by sending in their resignation to me. [end recording]

Finance Minister Jones further informed the DAILY OBSERVER that he thought that it would be a conflict of interest to have one work for government while entertaining political ambition.

For her part, Health and Social Welfare Minister Martha Sendolo Belleh said she agreed that it would be a conflict of interest to engage in politics while holding a government position now. She adds: What would stop people from campaigning now when 1985 is not so far away, adding that they may as well make their positions known now. Throwing light on the issue, Internal Affairs Minister Col Edward Sackor called on his colleagues to be bold enough to declare their intentions.

In yet another development, today's NEW LIBERIAN newspaper said elections for political posts in the next republic are scheduled from late next year according to transitional provisions contained in the draft constitution presented to the government yesterday by the National Constitution Commission.

CSO: 3400/1107

BRIEFS

OIL GIFT FROM KUWAIT--The Government of Kuwait has donated 10,000 barrels of oil to the Liberian government to assist with its energy needs. The amount is equivalent to one day supply for the country. According to a Foreign Ministry release issued in Monrovia today, the donation was made by the amir of Kuwait, Sheick Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, as token of appreciation to the head of state and chairman of the People's Redemption Council, Dr Samuel K. Doe, for his efforts in strengthening bilateral cooperation between the two nations. Based on the discussion held between Liberian government and Kuwaiti officials, the Kuwaiti Petroleum Corporation has expressed its willingness to sell oil to Liberia, a letter of credit which will be used as guarantee for payment. The Government of Liberia is presently working out arrangements toward this direction. A seven-man Liberian government delegation, headed by Foreign Minister H. Boimah Fahnbulleh, recently visited Kuwait to follow up fruitful discussions on bilateral cooperation between Kuwait and Liberia. [Text] [ABO42134 Monrovia Domestic Service in English 2100 GMT 4 Apr 83]

CSO: 3400/1107

NP PLAN TO DIVIDE NATION INTO TWO PARTS HIT

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 25 Mar 83 p 42

[Article by Gwen Lister: "The NP's Most Ludicrous Plan!"]

[Text] **Over the years a number of ludicrous and supposed solutions to the problem of Namibia have been proposed, but none, I think, more absurd than the idea currently being propagated by the National Party - namely the division of Namibia into two separate areas.**

The contention of the leader of the National Party, Mr Kgos Pretorius, and expressed by him in the Legislative Assembly for Whites this week, is that there are two 'irreconcilable' schools of thought, which cannot be accommodated in one constitutional dispensation. Therefore, in order to accommodate the two schools of thought, there should be two separate self governing geographical areas, according to Mr Pretorius.

This was his suggestion to the South African Government, which he added, was in a dilemma

since it had made promises to both sides.

One can only be thankful that Mr Pretorius sees the matter so simplistically. Had he discovered more than two schools of thought, he would in all probability have advocated the carving up of Namibia into more than two self governing territories!

It comes as somewhat of a surprise to find a man of Mr Pretorius' learning and background, making such an absurd suggestion, which would otherwise not bear discussion, were it not for the fact that the National Party is obviously taking the whole thing very seriously, to the extent that they wish to hold a referendum on this matter.

Mr Pretorius said that the idea was not a new one, which is fairly obvious considering the archaic nature of this proposal, and the fact that it really does not keep

pace with the times.

He said that former US President Jimmy Carter had propagated the idea of a homeland for the Palestinians; present US President Reagan was in favour of self-determination; and even the Soviet Union, he added, talked of themselves as a 'federal, multi-national state'. Leader of the Federal Party and former Leader of the old United Party, Mr Bryan O'Linn, he continued, had also propagated the idea of a 'federation'.

However, what Mr O'Linn had in mind were provinces, and not self-governing geographical units, and Mr Pretorius should be able to draw the distinction between the two.

OPPOSED TO DEMOCRACY

At any rate, what Mr Pretorius is suggesting, is opposed to the democratic ideal. After all, there are several schools of thought in many countries, and

elections are held for the very purpose of determining which school of thought has the majority support.

The point is that an election should be held in order to determine which group has the majority support. The answer does not lie in the division of a country. For sooner or later, there will be dissension within one of the divisions, and perhaps even yet another split, until the country is so fragmented by self governing units that it cannot function at all. This is the system constituting a financial burden, which we have at present in the country - the division into self governing ethnic units - and it does not work. In a country with a population of just over a million people, it is totally unfeasible and in fact enhances group awareness, later leading to antagonism and perhaps even civil war.

And Mr Pretorius is living in a Fool's Paradise if he believes that he can create a Utopia in the south. For the so-called minority groups which will be manifested there, there is bound to be dissension even among these groups. For the Whites will want to dominate the others - this is certain. They - a minority group - have dominated other minority and majority groups for decades, and they felt no guilt about this, but will not allow themselves to be subjected to rule by the majority.

WHITES WANT TO DOMINATE

And in this proposed Southern Utopia, the Whites will want to dominate other smaller groups. Those groups who wish to be incorporated into this area can so decide, said Mr Pretorius, but what if the Bushmen should decide in favour of incorporation into this area? This would mean a total shift of a section of the population from the north to the southern region - where the environment, people and lifestyle, is totally foreign to them!

The more one thinks about it, the more ridiculous the proposal of Mr Pretorius becomes.

And his reason for the desire for the creation of a 'southern Utopia'? Naturally this is to avoid the virtual certainty of being subjected to a SWAPO Government.

The implementation of Resolution 435 (and at least one can credit the National Party with having arrived at this realistic conclusion, while other more liberal groups refuse to accept this eventuality) will mean a SWAPO Government.

This Mr Pretorius realises, and will go to the extent of demanding an independent homeland for the Whites, to avoid being subjected to a black-dominated government.

A DEATH WISH

And Mr Pretorius has no right - no right at all - to expect to be granted such a request. And such

a request, were it to be granted, would constitute a death wish, in the form of an almost inevitable civil war.

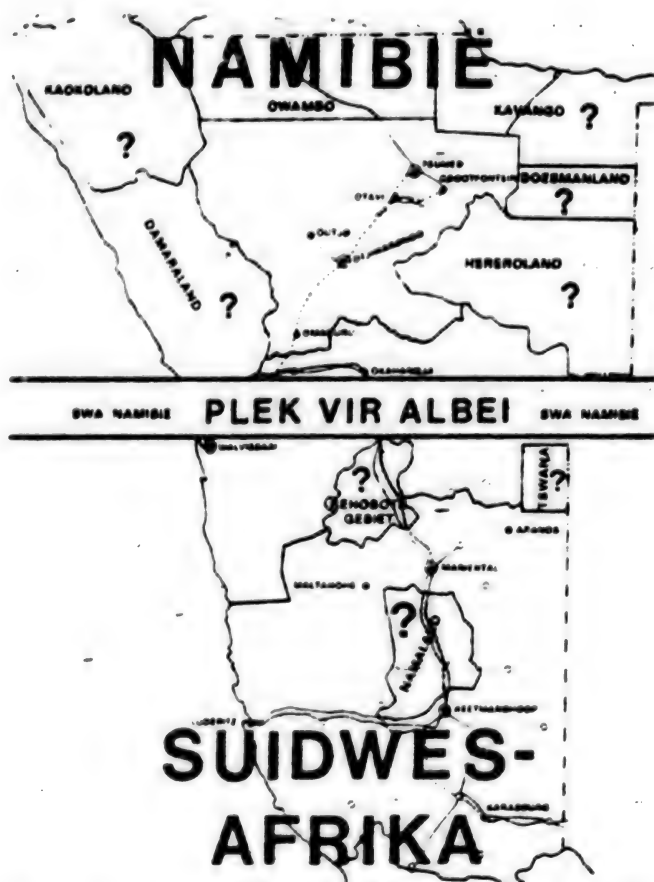
There is little doubt that SWAPO, if it does ascend to power in terms of a United Nations sponsored election, will, if necessary, fight for the incorporation of the rest of the Territory into Namibia. For 'Namibia' it will be - and Mr Pretorius should realise that the time for 'South West Africa' is past.

At present, by virtue of her military power, South Africa is holding onto the past, but there will come a time when it is no longer feasible to do so. It may take two years, it may take six, but Namibia will have a black-dominated government.

But whatever the future government of the Territory, there is no justification for a carving-up of the Territory - it would be disastrous in the economic or any other respect. The next thing the National Party proposes will probably be a version of the Berlin Wall in Namibia!

THE ONLY SOLUTION

The only solution is to subject the country to a democratic election and in order to establish which 'school of thought' as Mr Pretorius calls them, is dominant. And it is inevitable (and this Mr Pretorius does realise) that the unitary state, one-man one-vote, equality for all 'school of thought' will triumph.



political parties, will have in the interests of democracy, to subject themselves to the will of the majority of the people.

Mr Pretorius, you can come up with something better than that!

The National Party's idea of Utopia - a divided Namibia. This is what is being propagated by that party as the 'solution' to the Namibian problem. Namibia to be split into two - the southern portion for the

minority groups, and the northern portion for the unitary state, one-man one-vote, equality for all ideal. The proposal obviously constitutes an attempt to avoid being subjected to Swapo government.

Namibia is a country - as yet not independent - which has already lost a portion (the port of Walvis Bay) of its soil to the South African Government. Even the DTA is desirous of the eventual re-incorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia.

But to allow what would basically then be three states in Namibia,

will not work. One portion governed by South Africa, another a conglomeration of minority groups with resultant in-fighting and bickering for dominance, and the other governed by a black-majority government!

There is just no justification whatsoever for such a step.

Mr Pretorius and his Party, and indeed all

CSO: 3400/1082

HEAD OF ZIMBABWEAN CHAMBER OF MINES ADDRESSES SWACM BANQUET

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 21 Mar 83 p 4

[Text]

THE challenge of cooperation between ruling African nationalists and the private sector in Zimbabwe requires compromise on both sides, the President of the Chamber of Mines of Zimbabwe, Mr RP Lander, said in Windhoek at the weekend.

He was addressing the annual banquet of the SWA Chamber of Mines in Windhoek as guest speaker.

"Such compromise is most likely to be achieved in times of difficulty and some progress had been made in this direction in the first three years of our independence," Mr Lander continued.

"Our present difficulties have focussed attention on the need to protect our economic assets and not to take them for granted."

Time has undoubtedly helped mutual understanding and there are many examples of realistic pragmatism being the final determinant of Cabinet decisions," he said.

African nationalists want to run their country their way and greater participation by the government must be expected in mining.

"They also want better opportunities for their people and a more equitable distribution of the economic rewards. Neither of these objectives need frighten us. What we must point out to them is that the best interests of the people will be achieved only if economic growth takes place and there is more wealth to spread around."

GRAVELY SUSPICIOUS

Mr Lander said although nationalists returning home from exile are highly qualified academically, many of them had little experience in public administration and "many were gravely suspicious of the private sector and multi-nationals in particular."

To many of the White members of the mining industry, independence under the Mugabe government came as an "immense shock".

Black mining employees were euphoric and these two different reactions "led to some friction in the industry in 1980, including the departure of some people who could not adapt to change and sporadic strike action."

The introduction of workers' committees caused some concern at

first but it soon turned out that these were "a very valuable additional communication channel supported by the more highly-educated employees."

This led to a better understanding of companies' and employees' objectives and fostered a better "team spirit", said Mr Lander.

ESSENTIAL

The vacuum left by the departure of skilled Whites, notably artisans was filled by accelerating training on a non-racial basis and the return home of qualified Black Zimbabweans from exile.

Mr Lander said 1981 was a difficult year when, in addition to the downward mineral prices, costs climbed, led by statutory increases in minimum wages.

But most mines were already paying amounts "well in excess of the minimum", which he added, did not compare with the Namibian mining sector's wage levels at present.

Following the publication of the government's policy document Growth of Equity at the beginning of 1981, the Bill promulgating the State Minerals Marketing Corporation passed through Parliament early last year

and only last week, the Corporation commenced business.

VERY TENSE

The introduction of the idea in 1981 made it a "very tense year", during which the industry objected to the Government's desire to participate in the marketing of minerals.

"But our lobbying was in vain."

Mr. Lander referred to the "cautious and realistic way the Corporation's General Manager and his staff have approached their responsibilities and are showing determination to

maintain orderly marketing and a high quality of service to the customer and to the industry."

In 1982, virtually all mining companies reported losses as a result of the tightening grip of the recession. And the government's decision at the time, to increase interest charges on money and not to allow labour to be made redundant, "also increased the strain".

However, "as our circumstances worsened we came to realise that government was equally perturbed about our problems and more and more we found that we were facing these problems together", Mr Lander said.

CSO: 3400/1082

MOTION ENTERED TO MAKE GERMAN LANGUAGE OFFICIAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] WINDHOEK. — The Legislative Assembly for Whites in South West Africa yesterday adopted a motion requesting the Administrator-General of the territory to promulgate legislation which would elevate German to the status of an official language of the administration for Whites.

Introducing the motion, a member of the ruling SWA National Party, Mr Willem Odendaal, MEC, said a select committee had considered all aspects of the proposed legislation.

Mr Odendaal said it would be practicable at this stage to recognise German as an official language, with English and Afrikaans.

The motion before the house introduces the final chapter in a 60-year-long struggle for German language rights in SWA.

Supporting the motion, a member of the opposition Republican Party, Mr Hans-Erich Staby, said the Administrator-General should respond soon to the request.

A member of the SWA NP, Mr Fanie Vilonel, opposed the motion, saying it would be impracti-

cable to accord German official status in all spheres of society in SWA.

Most public officials were not in command of three languages and the issue could lead to exploitation by ill-disposed people.

There would also be inherent conflict between legislation and practice.

A member for the RP, Mr H Schneider-Waterberg, said recognition of German would strengthen SWA's links with German-speaking countries and would be economically to the territory's advantage. — Sapa.

FARMING REPORT CONTAINS REVOLUTIONARY PROPOSALS

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text]

THE number of individual White farm businesses in SWA should be reduced by up to a third and all further farming loans immediately stopped until a proper agricultural census is completed, according to a report tabled in the Legislative Assembly for Whites this week.

These are some of the startling findings and revolutionary proposals contained in a report commissioned by the White Administration and tabled by MEC charged with the portfolio, Mr Jannie de Wet.

The two-volume *Proposals for the Restoration of Profitability of Farming in SWA*, turns presently accepted policy and practice on its head in key areas and advocates radical changes as a matter of urgency.

Compiled by a private firm SA Farm Consultants in association with the Institute of Agricultural Economics at the University of Stellenbosch, the report proposes sweeping consolidation of farms into viable units, the introductions of landlord/tenant

relations under State ownership of the soil, the drastic pruning of cumbersome bureaucratic machinery — and the encouragement of Black tenancy in traditionally White districts!

AN EXCESS

"With present stock numbers, there are 1 700 more farm businesses than needed if minimum acceptable disposable incomes are to be obtained. Even were maximum permissible stocking to be achieved there are still an excess number of at least 500 farm businesses," the report states.

The report disagrees with present Government policy of resettling White farmers on deserted land on security grounds "since already more than 2 000 individual holdings have been merged with other farms and about another 1 000 farms are bereft of their owners during the week who are earning at least part of their livelihood elsewhere.

"The number of bona fide farming businesses is certain to fall further over the course of the next few years," it adds.

A substantial amount of money has been provided to the farming community in recent years without any

noticeable improvement in the economic viability of the farming population and has probably not achieved much impact in terms of total agricultural output.

If further funds are to be provided it is essential that these should be looked

upon as likely to result in a long term permanent improvement in the financial status of the farming community," the report states.

It turns down a pure *laissez-faire* approach with no further government involvement in the industry, as well as an attempt to maintain "more or less the present number of farm businesses by providing about R250m for restocking at a very highly subsidised rate of interest" which would swallow up State funds without placing the sector on a viable footing, and opts for a third option:

THIRD OPTION

"To introduce a programme to reduce the number of farm business sufficiently to enable the size of businesses of those remaining in operation to generate an acceptable level of disposable income."

The consultants "do not believe that the overall impact on the economy of the

country would be either substantial or disastrous, although many individuals would no doubt suffer considerable hardship."

Although many farmers would leave the land and their properties, livestock and other assets would be taken over by remaining operators, and this would not result in a lower population in the White rural areas.

Referring to the 100 or so farms already owned by Black farmers in White areas, the report states: "It is unrealistic in both political and security terms at the present time to exclude members of other population groups from buying farming properties if they have the funds."

Nearly 2 000 farm businesses are presently too small to be capable of providing a satisfactory standard of living to a family.

"It is necessary for these farms to be identified at the earliest possible stage and to make arrangements for many of these to be acquired by the State.

"No compulsion should be used to make farmers sell their businesses, but it should be indicated that there will be no further Government financial aid of any kind whatsoever including subsidised interest rates, should they decide to continue farming."

FUSION OF FINANCE

The report also advocates the fusion of all finance functions within a new agricultural finance corporation and the strict separation of finance and technical functions. The Department of Agriculture should only deal with technical factors relating to production and marketing.

State ownership of land accompanied by high rents is the only solution to provide incentive for farming at the highest level of managerial efficiency.

Legislation should be introduced to ensure that misuse of land is absolutely minimised.

Tenants on State-owned land should be prevented from maximising output from an area over a short period of time with "disastrous implications for the tenant who follows him."

A "more onerous control of farmers' veld management" is also proposed.

Present bureaucratic funding controls are strongly criticised.

"Some individual farmers have undoubtedly been provided with loans at an extremely low rate of interest when they already had more than sufficient funds of their own.

"There is also evidence that funds have been provided to farmers operating non-viable units."

It is recommended that "the whole procedure for administering loan funds should be simplified."

No further loans of any type should be provided and selected staff from the Department of Agriculture and the Land Bank should be sent into the field to conduct a comprehensive study of the situation of the farming community. The existing statistical basis is insufficient for proper legislation, the report states.

CIIR BOOKLET CLAIMS COLONIAL PATCHWORK DISINTEGRATING

Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 25 Mar 83 p 37

[Text] WINDHOEK: The careful colonial creation of a patchwork of white settler ranches was today disintegrating, said a booklet on Namibian agriculture. Economic weaknesses, they continued, had been exposed by drought. Pressed by the liberation movement, South African colonial strategists had abandoned their settler dream and agriculture was in a deep crisis.

The booklet, entitled *'Transforming a Wasted Land'* and published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, continued to say that the 'settler ideal' had already been eroded. Rising land prices had blocked new entrants, and wealthier farm owners had moved to the town, visiting only at intervals and leaving the day to day managements in the hands of one or another supervisor (These are known as 'cheque book' farmers in local parlance).

A recent source, the booklet continued, estimated that in 1976 as many as 48 percent of all

Namibian farm enterprises had absentee owners.

The stocking of the ranching zone to capacity and beyond during the preceding years of normal rainfall bound to lead to severe mortality among stock.

The dire straits in which settler farming found itself, was compounded by serious marketing difficulties, and the government imposed severe quota restrictions on sales to South Africa, which delayed the offloading of surplus cattle and led to widespread corruption in which smaller farmers lost out. Furthermore a 37 percent drop in real terms in slaughter stock prices between 1974/5 and 1978/9 made the returns on those cattle that could be marketed, increasingly uneconomic. By the time the prices began to climb again, and quotes were lifted, cattle ranches were deep into drought.

The auction prices for karakul pelts became increasingly volatile and then suddenly collapsed, averaging in 1981 little more than half the level of the previous year. It seemed to reflect a permanent shift in Western fashion away from karakul fur - now regarded in the crucial West German market as out of date.

Drought, the booklet continued, was the immediate cause of collapse, but the system had been undermined during the 1970's by the sustained challenge from black workers and the Namibian liberation movement SWAPO. The 1971/2 contract workers strike, although concentrated in the mines and

towns, drew in workers from the countryside as well. That they could act with such impressive and powerful unity came as a severe shock to the self confidence of the white ranchers, said the booklet.

"More recently" continued the booklet, "the growing power

of the liberation movement had brought large sections of the white farming community into the front line of the conflict between South Africa's army of occupation and the guerrilla units of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia". Since 1976 they continued, PLAN cadres had moved operated continuously, sometimes in considerable strength, in the heart of the white cattle ranching zone.

More seriously, the advance of the liberation movement, had forced South Africa to adopt a new colonial strategy which no longer revolved around settlers.

South Africa's main interest in the settlers now, according to the booklet, was now military. The widening of the war zone had made white farmers in the north a crucial second line of defence for the occupation regime - with the fortification of farmhouses subsidised - and had placed a premium on keeping them on the land. Alarmed at the scale of rural depopulation, the South Africans had pumped in large amounts of state funds. The administration also launched two subsidised land settlement schemes, both to dissuade existing farmers from leaving and to resettle abandoned ranches.

But these measures, said the booklet, had clearly not stemmed the tide.

In the same way, continued the booklet, no less than settler farming, peasant agriculture had been continually undermined by drought and war, while the underlying structure of overcrowding and dependence on migrant labour remained largely unaltered.

CSO: 3400/1082

MILITARY COOPERATION WITH PAKISTAN DESCRIBED

Personnel

Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 60, Mar 83 p 16

[Text] Pakistani-Nigerian cooperation involves among other things exchanging military and technical personnel. Several officers are being trained in Pakistan, including military physicians, and the Pakistani army is regularly sending military physicians to serve in the armed forces. Nearly 2,500 other Pakistanis are working in Nigeria, mainly teachers, doctors, engineers and experts.

President's Visit to Pakistan

Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 60, Mar 83 p 16

[Text] President Shehu Shagari has announced that Nigeria in the next two years will produce G-3 automatic rifles of the type manufactured in Pakistan. The head of state made the statement during a visit to the Wah weapons and munitions factory, the most important one in Pakistan, which is located about 50 km from Islamabad. After he had been offered a model of the rifle, Mr Shagari stressed the necessity for the developing countries to be as self-sufficient as possible as far as arms are concerned.

During the second day of his official visit the president also visited the giant dam at Tarbela, which, with a production of 1,500 MWh [megawatt hours], provides 40 percent of the country's production.

It was indicated in Islamabad that Mr Shagari's talks with Gen Zia had shown that there was "complete identity of views between Lagos and Islamabad on the principal international problems: the Middle East, Palestine, Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan, Namibia, as well as "a common approach" to the Seventh Summit of the Non-Aligned Countries scheduled for March 1983 in New Delhi (India). The two countries agreed to extend their cooperation in technical and scientific fields and to increase the number of Nigerian officers trained in Pakistan. The Pakistani secretary of foreign affairs, Mr Naik, replied in the negative to a question as to whether Pakistan would aid Nigeria in producing nuclear electricity. "Nigeria, which is rich in oil, does not need nuclear energy," added Mr Naik, who emphasized that in addition Lagos was already using plants that are supplied by its 11 river basins.

8946

CSO: 3419/699

ADDITIONAL ELECTION FACTORS NOTED

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English No 6, 16 Mar 83 p 7

[Text]

Following the analysis in the previous issue, a number of political developments should be noted:

1) It is clear following the *Nigeria Peoples' Party* (NPP) launching in Kano of its presidential campaign that Governor Mohammed Abubakar Rimi has outmanoeuvred Balarabe Musa in the bid to become Nnamdi Azikiwe's presidential running mate. Rimi is now drawing huge crowds wherever he goes in the north. Assuming Rimi is formally nominated as Zik's running mate, the NPP gubernatorial candidate in Kano will be Rimi's deputy, Dawakin Tofa. While the latter would reduce the NPP's chances of winning the governorship, Rimi could well more than make up for the loss by winning the presidential election in the state. The NPN's chances of winning 25% of the presidential vote are now less than even.

Balarabe Musa continues to be the main complication to electoral equations in Kano and Kaduna. Both he and Chief Michael Imoudu were conspicuous by their absence from the NPP's Kano rally. Musa now apparently intends to remain aloof from the elections, believing that his time will come later. That means that incumbent governor of Kaduna state, Abba Musa Rimi, will be the NPP's gubernatorial candidate in Kaduna, thus opening the way more for the NPN gubernatorial candidate, Lawal Kaita.

2) In Borno state the Waziri Ibrahim faction of the *Great Nigeria Peoples' Party* (GNPP) is fielding Mohammed Abba Gana as gubernatorial candidate and Madu Umar as his running mate. Crucially, Gana is from the majority Kanuri tribe. The NPN gubernatorial candidate, Asheik Jarma, is from the minority Shuwa tribe - a considerable disadvantage; the incumbent governor of the state, Mohammed Goni, is increasingly likely to run on the UPN ticket (for reasons of ethnic tradition that is also a serious disadvantage); and the rest of the Shettima Mustapha GNPP faction, including Mustapha himself, are running for the NPP. Gana is now building a strong base in the Kanuri heartland, and Umar is popular in his home area of Biu in the southern region. The continued rise of the Waziri-faction latecomers may reduce fatally the NPN's chances of winning or even getting 25% of the presidential vote.

3) The Shettima Mustapha faction of the GNPP in Gongola state, including the incumbent governor, Abubakar Barde, have declared finally for the NPP, which now appears to stand slightly ahead of the other parties in the state.

4) In the first week of March governor Clement Isong of Cross River state and 30 of his NPN state legislators, commissioners, special advisers and local government council chairmen resigned *en masse* from the NPN. Most of them, including Isong, can shortly be expected to join the UPN. The NPP, having failed to

woo Isong and his followers, is now practically out of the running in the state. The fight is between the NPN and the UPN, with the latter now tactically in the better position. The chances of the NPN, backed by the senate president, Joseph Wayas, of winning the governorship are now less than even.

Translated into national forecasts, the developments in the above states suggest that Shehu Shagari still stands a good chance of a) winning a majority of the presidential vote in the first ballot b) winning a minimum 25% of the presidential vote in 12½ of the 19 states c) having its governorships reduced from seven to four - Rauchi, Sokoto, Bendel and either Niger or Kaduna, and d) losing to either the UPN or NPP in a straight run-off.

GREAT DISADVANTAGES SEEN IN CONTAINER SHIPPING

Lagos BUSINESS TIMES in English 14 Mar 83 pp 1, 24

[Article by Jackson Imafidon]

[Text] Nigerian shippers bear the cost of repatriating empty containers to the foreign owners after the contents have been offloaded, Mr K.E. Usoh, the deputy executive secretary of the Nigerian Shippers Council pointed out while discussing the disadvantages of containerisation in our ports as it affect the Nigerian shippers.

He argued that much of our products do not lend themselves easily to containerisation and as such, containers which bring into the country highly valued manufactured goods, are taken back to their country of origin empty, at the expense of the Nigerian shippers, Mr Usoh said that in recent years, it has been realised that low value cargo like cement, iron ore have been containerised by overseas suppliers. High valued goods attract high marine insurance premium.

Another disadvantage of containerisation to the Nigerian shipper and the national economy according to the secretary is the recent discovery that containers have become instrument through which prohibited goods are smuggled into the country. On the international front, Mr Usoh said that marine insurance has shown concern at the increasing rates of container losses and Nigeria is said to rank high amongst ports where container theft or losses still "remain a problem." With such high marine/loss ratio Mr Usoh added, fraudulent international syndicates have capitalise on this weakness by short supplying and invoicing the wrong figures. He said that it has been discovered that these fraudulent international syndicate break seal of loaded container, reseal it with an identical seal bearing the same number and then dispatch to the consignee in Nigeria.

In some cases, Mr Usoh revealed, containers loaded with highly valuable products have been diverted and later substituted with identical container. He said that there have been moves by some conference lines operating container system to increase freight rates because of losses they sustain in operating the container system. Nigeria, he argued, has a comparative advantage of lower labour cost for the operation and working of conventional ships. The container concept is designed to increase productivity per labour employed. He said that it is a labour saving device which when applied in an economy with high wage rate makes a lot of economic sense. He argued that the container concept puts Nigeria in great disadvantage because it reduces the number of people employed to handle a ship.

ENFORCEMENT OF ALIEN EXPULSION ORDER SOUGHT

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 17 Mar 83 p 3

[Editorial in the column "DAILY TIMES Opinion": "Unenforced Quit Order"]

[Text]

HUNDREDS of illegal aliens who left the country a few weeks ago because of the Federal Government's quit order are reported to be trooping back into the country and taking back their jobs.

This situation, although becoming nation wide, is so far, most pronounced in Kano State. Some of the aliens interviewed by the Daily Times gave two main reasons for their return to Kano.

First, that the illegal aliens who remained behind in defiance of the government order have continued to enjoy the usual hospitality from the people of Kano, adding that even the threats of arrest and prosecution by the police did not materialise.

Second, that several emissaries of their former employers went to their countries to appeal to them to return and take back their jobs assuring them that there would be no intimidation of any sort.

The first reason advanced by the aliens is the most relevant. It will be pertinent to recall that on January 17, when the Minister of Internal Affairs, Alhaji Ali Baba announced that all illegal aliens should leave the country, he said "in exactly two weeks from today government agents will commence inspecting commercial, industrial and household establishments with a view to identifying the defaulting aliens."

He went further to warn that all companies found to be illegally employing aliens would be severely dealt with under the immigration laws.

Most Nigerians and some of the affected aliens who were conversant with the endemic inability of the govern-

ment agencies to enforce laws and orders were sceptical about the successful operation of the quit order.

As anticipated, all the tough talk of the Minister seems to have ended on the pages of newspapers. Only half-hearted attempts were made to check some hotels. No meaningful inspection of commercial, industrial and house hold establishments was carried out. Consequently, thousands of employers who very much needed the cheap labour of illegal immigrants were emboldened to encourage their illegal employees to stay on.

This is unfortunate, more so, when Nigeria has been subjected to the worst ever tirade of organised criticism by the Western Press on account of the quit order. It will be scandalous for the country to allow the illegal aliens back again, knowing the socio-economic problems they once constituted. The Federal Government must not allow this to happen because it will adversely affect the international credibility of this nation.

As a matter of urgency, therefore, a special monitoring unit comprising crack members of the police and immigration department should be set up to effectively police the borders and relentlessly search for illegal aliens still remaining in the country for immediate deportation. Also, all employers of aliens must be identified and punished according to the provisions of the immigration laws. Every step must be taken to enforce the quit order.

BRIEFS

FISHING BOAT DONATION--What could best be described as the Green-Revolution Week was recently observed in Maiduguri, Borno State capital. Most spectacular of these activities was the donation of a fishing boat to the Federal Department of Fisheries by Almarine. The estimated values of the boat was put at over N13,000. In a speech made at the presentation ceremony, the Almarine General Manager, Mr J.E. Appleby, a Briton, revealed that the boat was developed by his company and that in the near future hundreds of it would be manufactured for use by Nigerian Local Fishermen. The "Almarine SPD 27" as the boat is called, has an in-board diesel engine, with the following specifications. Length--8.23m or 27 feet; beam--2.24m or 7 feet, load capacity--1.800 tons, engine capacity--30 HP and moves at about 2,900 RPM (13.2 knots)." Receiving the boat on behalf of the Federal Department of Fisheries, the director of FDF--Mr B.F. Dada, thanked the donors for their kind and patriotic gesture. He noted that since the inception of the Green Revolution in 1980, Almarine has remained consistently relentless in its efforts to help and complement both the Federal and State Governments determination to ensure the success of not only the fishery industries in Nigeria, but also the Green Revolution Programme. He praised the management and staff of Almarine for blazing the trail of boat technology in Nigeria and urged it not to waste much time in producing or manufacturing a large number of such boats which he said, would never lack ready market patronage, at any time. [by Chike Olieh] [Text] [Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 18 Mar 83 p 7]

NPN FACTION IN BENUE--Another major crisis of an unprecedented is once again looming over the Benue State branch of the National Party of Nigeria (NPN), barely two weeks after President Shagari launched his presidential campaign in Gboko. The crisis this time is crystallising on the launching and official opening of a branch office of a rival faction of the party to be known as Tarka-NPN coming up tomorrow. Authoritative sources disclosed to the SUNDAY TRIUMPH in Makurdi that already arrangements have been completed for tomorrow's ceremony taking place at the Holy Ghost Primary School's playing ground situated along Hospital Road in the Benue State capital. The sources said that the office of the faction will be at No 20, Marcarthy Field, Makurdi. The SUNDAY TRIUMPH has discovered that already, a large number of invitation cards and posters have been circulated throughout the state inviting delegates and sympathisers to the occasion. [Text] [Kano SUNDAY TRIUMPH in English 13 Feb 83 p 1]

TRANSPORT PLANE PURCHASE--The Defense Ministry has just confirmed with Aeritalia (Italy) its purchase of G-222 tactical transport planes, the contract having been signed early in 1982. Five aircraft were ordered, for a value of approximately \$117 million, to include in addition replacement parts, training and technical assistance. The G-222s, which are to be delivered in 1983 and 1984, are driven by 3,400-horsepower General Electric T-64P4D turbines. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French No 60, Mar 83 p 16] 8946

CSO: 3419/699

SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

LONG-RANGE JETS WILL BE ABLE TO LAND STARTING IN JUNE

Lisbon 0 DIA in Portuguese 21 Mar 83 p 5

[Text] Joaquim Rafael Branco, Sao Tomian minister of education, culture and information, announced in Lisbon that the runway at Sao Tome Airport is now extended and that, starting in June, long-range jets will land there.

Thereafter, TAP [Portuguese Airlines], which now has regular flights only to Luanda, will be able to go to Sao Tome e Principe. One of the first flights to benefit from the extended runway will be the one carrying Ramalho Eanes, president of the Portuguese Republic, on his official visit, Branco noted.

Direct flights from Lisbon to Sao Tome will help to reduce the isolation of this small equatorial country, which has almost 70,000 inhabitants, basically dependent on agriculture, particularly on the exportation of cacao, Branco explained. The minister was in Rio de Janeiro to attend the inauguration of Leonel Brizzola, and decided to return by way of Lisbon so he could establish contacts with the Portuguese press.

He stressed that the economic situation of Sao Tome e Principe is serious and troubling, since only one-fourth of the inhabitants participate actively in production, productivity is low, production has fallen below that registered in 1974 and the country must import almost everything it needs.

The management of the large state agricultural companies (resulting from the nationalization of the plantations) has not been the best. There is confusion within the sole party regarding the best economic path to pursue and there has been a swine pest epidemic which forced the country to slaughter all the hogs, the minister reported, describing the difficult situation which Sao Tome e Principe is experiencing.

On the other side of the scales, he noted the progress in the education and health fields. With free and compulsory education, 35,000 children and young people (more than one-third of the country's total population) are attending schools. Medical assistance and medicine are free and malaria is in the process of being eradicated.

Branco said there has been no major development of official cooperation with Portugal, because of problems on both sides, but he had high praise for the assistance given his country by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, specifically in the areas of education and health.

During the next few days, the visitor will call on Vitor Sa Machado, administrator of the Gulbenkian Foundation in charge of cooperation with Africa, but no meetings are scheduled with government officials.

Among the countries which are most effectively supporting Sao Tome e Principe, Rafael stressed Algeria, and also mentioned the courses which Sao Tomian students have attended in Cuba, the Soviet Union, Portugal and France.

There are currently about 50 Portuguese cooperants in the Republic of Sao Tome e Principe, including 35 teachers, but many more would be welcome in the education field, reported the minister of education, culture and information.

6362

CS0: 3442/169

PRESIDENT DISCUSSES ELECTION RESULTS, CORRUPTION, ECONOMY

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 10 Mar 83 pp 4-6

[Interview granted by Senegal President Abdou Diouf: "Opposition Obstructionism"]

[Excerpts] The Third World Press Club, a Radio-France Internationale broadcast, created and directed by Herve Bourges, RFI [Radio-France Internationale] director general, had President Abdou Diouf as its guest.

The broadcast, co-produced by the RFI and Radio Senegal, was aired yesterday at 1800 hours on the Radio-France Internationale airwaves, at 1300 hours on the airwaves of Radio Senegal and, in the evening, on Senegalese television. LE SOLEIL, in turn, presented yesterday, in their general lines, the statements made by the chief of state on domestic Senegalese policy.

This is the rule which justified the fact that Herve Bourges, the main promoter of the broadcast, selected a panel consisting of the following journalists: Christian Casteran, deputy chief of the international service in charge of African problems of the newspaper LE MATIN; Pierre Haski, in charge of African questions at the newspaper LIBERATION; Abdellaziz Dhamani, a leading reporter for the weekly JEUNE AFRIQUE; Pierre Biarnes, correspondent for LE MONDE in West Africa; and Mbaye Sidi Mbaye, deputy editor in chief for Radio Senegal.

In the course of the broadcast President Abdou Diouf appeared in a different light. Quite comfortable, relaxed, punctuating with expressive gestures his clear answers, he proved himself a true media person although, as Christian Casteran was to point out to him later, he had initially seemed somewhat intimidated by the microphones and the cameras. Although he claims not to have changed, the general feeling he projected to listeners and televiewers was that he had become more "liberated," acquired a greater mastery and further refined his image as a statesman.

In opening the broadcast, Herve Bourges introduced briefly President Abdou Diouf, reviewed his essential activities over the past 2 years as head of state and completed his introduction with the 27 February elections, which led to the first question.

Pierre Biarnes: A few months ago Senegal acquired a new electoral code, which, it seems, has two targets: on the one hand, to ensure the government a stable majority; on the other, to allow the diversity of Senegalese opinions to be voiced within the privileged terrain of a national assembly. But today's results, which were confirmed by the Supreme Court, lead to the following question: In the final account, has this new code met this twin target properly? Considering the very small number of members of the opposition who will attend the national assembly, will the debate be as broad as it seemed to have been desired by yourself, if I am correct? Could it be that, conversely, you will be enjoying a rather excessive majority? In other words, you did want a majority which would enable your government to govern but you also wanted, I believe, an open assembly. Now, you seem to find yourself facing a nonexisting assembly. Therefore, was your code suitable? On the basis of the old electoral system, some 20 percent of the people voted for the opposition and you would have had some 24 opposition deputies, whereas now you will have no more than 9. Could this be somewhat embarrassing for you?

Abdou Diouf: This will not embarrass me. Do not forget that we operate under a presidential rather than parliamentary system. There exists a presidential dynamics which could start and promote change regardless of the structure of the national assembly. You mention the electoral code. Indeed, at the time of its drafting, there were a number of clashing concepts which required my arbitration. The most extremist thesis, obviously, was to create an assembly elected on the basis of departmental voting. You can immediately realize the results which such a hypothesis would have yielded today. The other idea was for three-quarters or two-thirds, or else 80 deputies, to be elected on the basis of departmental voting, while 40 deputies could be elected on a proportional basis. I finally decided in favor of the idea which seemed to maximize the opposition given the results of the political study of the times: half and half. We believe that, bearing in mind the number of political groups which existed in Senegal and the diversity of opinions expressed, it was dangerous to have a total proportional balloting, which would have risked the formation of a parliament with an excessive number of opinions.

Under those circumstances it would be very difficult for a government, even under a presidential system, to implement its governmental program and have laws passed. That is why we thought that the middle way consisted of having 60 deputies elected on the basis of departmental balloting and 60 on the basis of a proportional vote. Honestly, we thought that this would result in a far more substantial opposition compared with what came about, which would have reflected on the level of the National Assembly the political pluralism which we intended to develop on a national level. Unfortunately, universal suffrage decided otherwise.

It must be acknowledged that a dynamics developed in favor of the Socialist Party, which surprised and submerged us to the point of having 111 PS [Socialist Party] deputies as against 9 opposition deputies. I do not know if you have read today's LE SOLEIL issue in which a PS member is posing a question addressed to me. He hopes, he says, that as a democrat I shall respect the will of the people. The will of the people is that the country is truly for the PS and, therefore, I should not pursue my advances to other political groups or other political feelings in the country.

Christian Casteran: Would it be possible that nevertheless and appearances notwithstanding, these elections may have been for you a failure to the extent to which, if we are to believe some statements, you make the law here, in Dakar, you are the prisoner both of the clergy and the religious leaders, and of the Socialist Party which you would like to update, and a prisoner of an administration which has not always played the game according to the rules?

Abdou Diouf: Let me begin by saying that the administration did its work loyally. To the best of my knowledge no irregularity has been committed by the Senegalese administration. These are fabrications and I would like those who voiced them to support them with evidence. Or else, they should have reported them to the competent jurisdiction the independence of which is acknowledged by all.

I am not the prisoner of priests; I am not the prisoner of the PS. I am the secretary general of the PS and, as such, I must lead it to victory in presidential as well as legislative elections. This was my duty, regardless of consequences. But I am not a prisoner. Let me repeat it once again, we have a presidential system. I believe that what I have been able to accomplish starting with 1 January 1981, when my popular legitimacy was contested by a number of people, when I was president by virtue of Article 35, to which there was strong opposition, I can do the job even better today, having been elected by the people.

We consider the priests our partners. They represent the spiritual authority in our country. However, they are neither great vote gatherers, as may seem, or powers behind the scene whose views must always be taken into consideration in government. We are governing independently. However, we respect them. We take their views into consideration in terms of their own sectors and we try to develop a trusting cooperation with them. We believe that they could help us to the extent to which they have a certain hold on the peasant masses. However, this help is always in a good direction, in a direction which leads these peasant masses to progress, more light, more happiness and greater motivation, rather than greater obscurantism.

P. Haski: The opposition parties, which have made quite severe accusations on the development of the elections, have decided, on the one hand, to boycott the new National Assembly and, on the other, to contest your legitimacy as head of state. What conclusions do you draw, on the one hand, regarding the democratic system as practiced in Senegal and, on the other, the desire for a political opening which you had expressed yourself, I believe, before the elections?

Abdou Diouf: To begin with, I am the legitimately elected president, guardian of the constitution, in charge of applying the law, which I intend to do. I am the head of state and no one would make me doubt it. On the contrary, it is with total good faith that I intend to perform my functions as head of state. Nor will this make me regret my view on the democratic opening and in favor of political pluralism. I believe that these are postelectoral convulsions and that reason will prevail. However, I believe that no one should have any illusions on my will to enforce respect for the law and to be firm while always remaining open to anyone who puts the interests of Senegal first rather than his disappointed personal ambitions.

Abdellaziz Dhamani: Could it be that your party's ally, which I could qualify as extremist, has not played according to the rules and prevented you to play your role as correctly as possible?

Abdou Diouf: I do not think so. Sincerely, I do not think so. I have no indication to this effect and no one has mentioned it to me. Once again, I sincerely believe, taking into consideration the information of which I am aware and the existence of a certain disappointment on the part of some voters who wanted to vote and were unable to do so, that if irregularities were committed in the elections, they were committed by the opposition as a result of the obstruction caused by some opposition to the balloting, as a result of which a number of voters were prevented from voting and casting their votes for the Socialist Party.

Mbaye Sidi Mbaye: Whereas it is true that you are the secretary general of the Socialist Party, which you led to victory, and which contributed to your own victory, there is a strong current of men and women without political labels, who voted for Abdou Diouf the candidate. How do you interpret this vote and, on the basis of such a vote are you going to formulate a new political orientation?

Abdou Diouf: It is true that as of 1 January 1981 I keep hearing that "I support President Abdou Diouf but I am not for the PS." I believe that this is a current which has shown a declining tendency as of 1 January 1981, for at the end the difference between candidate Abdou Diouf and the socialist party did not exceed 3.5 points. Therefore, this difference is not as great as it was believed to be.

Nevertheless, an entire section of public opinion--although perhaps not very important quantitatively but still of some qualitative significance--which does not favor the PS but supports my activities and expects of me some changes or, speaking more clearly, the pursuit of the policy of change which I inaugurated on 1 January 1981. I shall not disappoint the Senegalese people whose vote constitutes both an approval of my activities over the past 2 years as head of state and an expectation in favor of more fundamental changes in the policy of our country and its different sectors.

H. Bourges: I wish you would clarify a rather puzzling saying. Having cast your ballot you told several journalists representing the national press: "In tomorrow's Senegal nothing will ever be again the same." What did you mean?

Abdou Diouf: I meant two things: the first was that before the vote no one knew who was representing what. After the vote this has become clearer. In my view, it was believed that a number of parties had a greater following in the country. The elections enabled us to evaluate these various parties in terms of political forces. "Nothing will ever be as in the past," for I believe that the president of the republic is now far more free to act. Whatever one may think of the ponderousness in my party--and let me add that all parties have their ponderousness--and even if it is thought that I am entrapped by some party habits--and here again all parties have their good and bad habits--I still believe that a president chosen by the public can maneuver and act more easily than a president installed by virtue of a constitutional stipulation which may be entirely legal but which does not allow him to act as freely, not having been elected by the people.

I believe, therefore, that starting with the inauguration and the swearing in of Abdou Diouf, elected president of the republic, which will take place on 3 April 1983, the governmental program will be quite more clearly oriented toward the changes expected by the Senegalese people than was the "interim" program which I have had to apply as of 1 January 1981 and which, itself, already carried a number of changes.

H. Bourges: Before we move on to economic questions, allow me to recall briefly a few facts.

Senegal came to its independence holding a number of trumps. As the most developed country in French-speaking black Africa, it enjoyed a geographic situation which made it the ocean gate of black Africa. Today, behind the prosperous facade of Dakar, Senegal presents the image of a poor agrarian country without many resources. Senegal which, on the map, assumes a human shape, with Dakar as its nose and Gambia as its mouth, still looks like a country cut in half: Dakar on the one hand and the rest of the country--the brush--on the other; Dakar, which alone accounts for one-half of the urban Senegalese population and, except for three other large cities with an urbanized population (Thies, Kaolack and St. Louis), on the one hand, versus all the rest, i.e., 70 percent of the population, which represents the Senegal of the Wolof peasant, the Peul shepherd and the Lebou fisherman, whose three resources are peanuts, livestock and fishing. These do not constitute considerable resources if compared with the surface and ground resources of other countries.

In what direction will you point your economic policy on the basis of such facts?

Abdou Diouf: I believe that we have already indicated the way quite clearly. It is the way of a richer and far more diversified agriculture. Such agriculture can be based only on assuming real control of the water. I know very well that there is strong opposition to dams in our country. However, in a country such as ours, which has been the victim of droughts for years on end, no solution other than water control with dams, drilling, capping rainwater, wells, etc., is possible, so that wherever possible we develop a type of agriculture no longer exclusively based on random precipitation, even though

these past few years have been an exception, but on permanent water resources, which will enable the Senegalese farmer to be a modern farmer and which will enable us to develop richer and more diversified farming. It is on the basis of such more solid farming that we would like to build an industrial economy.

P. Haski: Despite indications that the economic situation is improving, the country remains in a rather difficult situation. Are you not afraid of having to swallow other bitter pills imposed by the International Monetary Fund, whose methods you have criticized quite frequently?

Abdou Diouf: We have never swallowed bitter pills. We have always discussed matters. Obviously, the IMF always submits its prescriptions. Senegal, however, has its own policy, whatever the opposition may say. We discuss matters and, generally speaking, we reach dynamic compromises which enable us to pursue our programs with financial facilities at our disposal which enable us to resolve our economic problems.

P. Haski: Are you engaged in new discussions with the IMF?

Abdou Diouf: We shall continue our discussions not only with the IMF and the World Bank but with friendly Western, Arab and even other countries who would like to have discussions with us. We refuse no one. We are a nonaligned country and we are equally desirous of economic cooperation with any country in the world and any international organization, with no strings attached.

Mbaye Sidi Mbaye: You have pointed out that in France and, more generally speaking, in some European countries a certain public opinion segment was against the building of dams. However, Senegal has other economic possibilities which, in my view, leads to a certain contradiction: Senegal needs the means to initiate some projects such as, for example, the development of the iron ore mines in eastern Senegal, which requires hundreds of billions of francs, and it is precisely when Senegal must take a new line of development that financing is scarce. There has been some criticism of Senegal's agricultural aspect. At the same time, however, Senegal is not allowed to develop differently. Do you have something critical to say or would you like to appeal to our partners?

Abdou Diouf: The appeal addressed to our partners is obviously within the framework of the struggle for a new world economic order. It is obvious that for the past few years international aid has been dangerously dropping instead of rising and the entire purpose of our economic struggle is to acquire more substantial financial means under better conditions, which would enable us to tackle the overall development projects which we have set for our country. We must stand firmly on our two feet. We must develop industry, on the one hand, and agriculture, on the other.

A country without a secure agricultural base, unable to feed itself, is not a free country. That is why, however important projects such as iron ore mines, peat extraction or other industrial projects may be, we must nevertheless find the necessary resources for the dams and wells which we need in order to develop a truly firm, dynamic and healthy agriculture in Senegal.

Ch. Casteran: After the municipal elections in France and the general elections in Germany, the franc is being attacked on all fronts, and speculators are even anticipating an eventual devaluation. Do you find such a situation to be entirely unfair in your case, with your CFA franc? Do you consider getting out of this system?

Abdou Diouf: Certainly not! We belong to a financial community which has both advantages and inconveniences. Without entering into details, however, I can assure you that the advantages we derive from belonging to the franc system are by far superior to the inconveniences. That is why it is not even a question--and this applies to all members of the West African Monetary Union, for I have been its president for 2 years--of leaving the franc zone. On the contrary, we shall participate in all the efforts to consolidate the franc and its zone.

P. Biarnes: I would like to ask a question pertaining to both economics and politics and which applies to your policy of struggle against corruption. You have made very firm statements on this subject, which have begun to turn into specific facts. Nevertheless, you are aware of the fact that a large segment of Senegalese public opinion believes that such improvement efforts are somewhat slow. What is your view and what are your intentions for the immediate future.

Abdou Diouf: It has always been said that justice was serene but slow. Perhaps it is slow because of being serene. However, justice must be pursued without violating public freedom. That is why my sole answer is that as president of the republic I will do everything I can with the prosecution and court for the repression of illicit gains to speed up procedures as much as possible. The judiciary is the judiciary; it has its rules and procedures. However, I emphasize my political will to struggle against corruption and illegal acquisition of wealth. I shall not retreat in this fight which is a good fight.

P. Haski: Could you extend this somewhat and tell us about the sense, the political direction, the political philosophy of this struggle against illicit wealth?

Abdou Diouf: As you very well know, it is a question of fighting corruption. You are aware of the fact that a general problem of corruption exists in Third World and even in the developed countries. It is vulgarly known as "dealing under the table" . . . which means that no one knows what goes on. It is a matter between the corruptor and the corrupted. Everything goes under the table and it is in no one's interest to discuss it. Unable to face the problem directly, for no one is talking, I have suggested to the National Assembly laws aimed at the apprehension of the corrupted through their lifestyle or that of their possessions compared with declared income. If it can be proven that their possessions are inconsistent with declared income, they will be charged with illicit enrichment and the courts will draw the proper consequences.

This is political philosophy. We would have preferred not to draft further criminal laws. Had it been possible to struggle with corruption more efficiently, we would have used the opportunity. However, since everything is done underhandedly. . . .

H. Bourges: I should have asked you the following question as a transition between domestic and international policy. What is Senegambia's future?

Abdou Diouf: It is great. I believe that, as you said in your brilliant introduction, we have the possibility and the political will to correct a historical error and that the federation is merely a first step toward the Senegambian unity of the people and the nation. Our efforts must now focus on the consolidation of the federation's structure. However, we could progress far more and more quickly.

A. Dhamani: Mr President, allow me to make a slight aside. The electoral campaign was conducted in Wolof. Could this be interpreted that you are promoting Wolof as the official language of the country?

Abdou Diouf: This is not my policy. I believe that French must remain the official language of the country. I would like to point out to you that during the electoral campaign we spoke not only Wolof but several other national languages. Perhaps Wolof was used more than the other languages. However, a great deal was said in the other national languages as well. When facing an audience which speaks very little French it is by far more simple to speak the national language if one is to be understood by the audience. Nevertheless, for reasons of convenience and that Wolof is not the only national language--as there are at least six other main languages--it would be practical for all to retain French as the official language, even if we are obliged--which is also our policy--to develop increasingly the teaching of national languages in order to make them cultural. The future may offer us the possibility of making a more definite and a firmer decision in this area. Right now, however, we are still at the experimental stage. That is what happened during the electoral campaign and what is happening now, in general, in all political circles, even outside the electoral campaign. In my visits to the various areas as head of state I speak Wolof most frequently. As early as 1978 I campaigned in Wolof. I may have spoken more in Wolof in 1983 compared with 1978 but even in 1978 most of the electoral campaign was conducted in a national language.

H. Bourges: Let us go back to foreign policy, which we neglected for a while. If you wish, and I believe that this question could not be avoided, could we discuss your relations with France? Are you satisfied or disappointed by these relations as of 10 May 1981, and what is the state of your personal relations with the president of the French Republic?

Abdou Diouf: I am quite satisfied with the state of my relations with France since 10 May 1981 and my relations with President Francois Mitterrand are very cordial and very friendly. Truly, nothing can be said on this subject. If I could grade these relations I would give them a 10. No comment.

Mbaye Sidi Mbaye: If you give Franco-Senegalese cooperation a 10 how would you grade cooperation between Senegal and the emirates?

Abdou Diouf: Between Senegal and the Arab countries. . . .

Mbaye: And the Arab countries, generally speaking.

Abdou Diouf: There are many such countries which, in order not to make anyone jealous, I would give a grade 10. There are others, however, which I would certainly not grade so highly.

Arab-African cooperation has the specific feature that good political will has always been evident in relations with all Arab countries. However, in the case of some Arab countries action immediately follows the thought. In the case of other Arab countries beautiful promises are made but no action follows. Therefore, I cannot generalize. On the level of practical relations, relations with some countries are excellent. With others they are less so. However, on the level of political relations and goodwill, obviously relations with all are very good.

P. Haski: What do you think of the development of the conflict in Chad, which led to the failure of the last summit meeting of the OAU in Tripoli and the rumors of a new military confrontation in the north? What do you think of Libya's attitude in this conflict?

Abdou Diouf: I consider Libya's attitude abnormal. It cannot be qualified. Libya should be reasonable and should respect the independence and sovereignty of Chad. Let me specify immediately that I have no quarrel with Libya. However, I believe that its attitude, both in terms of the failure of Tripoli 2 and the Chad problem in general, is an abnormal, unqualifiable attitude, for which reason Libya must be made to see the light. Had I the opportunity to meet with President Qadhdhafi face to face--I have no way of knowing whether he would listen to me--I would tell him this and I am using the opportunity to do so. I think that he will respect the sovereignty of Chad and, generally, the sovereignty of the other countries and try truly to promote unity among African countries rather than their division for the sake of God knows what kind of criterion more or less uneasy to define.

Mbaye: When you became prime minister you were totally unknown to the people. In some circles Abdou Diouf was a sphinx. Yet other than when you visit the various areas and this electoral campaign, in which you let yourself be known, you almost seem to be hiding. Is this deliberate or is it a stand?

Abdou Diouf: I do not know. I do not hide and I do not know if your colleagues share this viewpoint, particularly those who are present here. I do not hide and I am available to my people, both collectively and to every individual Senegalese. I do not think that I am being mysterious in the least in my actions. The point is that I am not verbose. This may be a character feature. I am not verbose and, as I have had the opportunity to tell Mr Dhami, frequently people leave my office confused. The optimists believe that I share their views. The pessimists believe that I do not. The reason is that I like to consider matters and am unwilling to make commitments lightly. Above all, I believe that a head of state should not yield easily. He must make his decisions and apply them without acting lightly.

Ch. Casteran: A year ago or slightly more than that you met with us in simpler circumstances, around a microphone. You gave us the impression at that time of being somewhat shy and timid, somewhat impressed by journalists and microphones. Today, on the contrary, you project the impression of a liberated man, a man sure of himself. Is that a miracle created by universal suffrage?

Abdou Diouf: Well, you be the judges. There are the perquisites of the state and perhaps of the universal suffrage. I do not know. It is up to you to judge. Personally, I did not feel any change compared with our previous encounter.

P. Haski: A great deal has been said, perhaps more outside than in Senegal, about a Senegalese model for Africa. Have you personally the ambition for or awareness of presiding over an experience which could become a model?

Abdou Diouf: No. At this point, I can firmly and immediately say no. I believe that Senegalese democracy and Senegalese socialism are not goods for export. In his introduction Mr. Bourges said that Senegal has crossed some gaps. We do not face religious or tribal problems. We are a nation. We must point out that what was successful here may not be successful elsewhere, so that I wish that Senegal is not considered as willing to engage in proselytizing in terms of setting an example for other countries. Let each country act according to its own ideas and specific internal conditions.

Ch. Casteran: President Bongo said once that a multiple party system is, in his view, a force of disorder and divisiveness. Sometimes, deep within yourself, are you not tempted to think likewise?

Abdou Diouf: After the 27 February 1983 elections and the reactions of some opposition parties, I was quite discouraged. That did not last long. I then told myself that this was merely the beginning of a long battle and that it was Senegal's vocation to be a pluralist country and that I had to go on fighting. I believe that President Bongo is right as far as Gabon is concerned, as I believe to be right as far as Senegal is concerned, whatever the obstacles I may come across, for this is a hard and difficult road and that we must nevertheless follow it to the end.

5157

CSO: 3419/675

GROWTH ROLE OF PARASTATALS REPORTED

Victoria NATION in English 11 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] No less than 32 parastatal organisations had been set up by the end of last month, according to a list being circulated in government circles.

Covering a large range of activities, there were parastatals in the fields of aviation, boat building, imports, hotels, computer services, banking, electricity, fisheries, horticulture, industry, farming, architecture, international travel, island development, news agents, marketing, housing, print, philately, public transport, timber, tourism, water services, insurance, cargo handling, construction, civil engineering and refrigeration.

Some of the companies, such as those in the fields of cargo handling (ULC), insurance (SACOS), water and electricity supplies (SWA and SEC) and public transport (SPTC), were the only ones in their respective fields.

Others in the hotel (Kosproh), international travel (NTA), farming (SADECO), printing (SNPC), construction and civil engineering (NCS and WEL), and other businesses have to compete with private local or foreign firms.

President Rene, a key figure in the Government's move to set up the parastatal system in Seychelles, emphasised in this year's budget speech that such companies occupied a crucial position in the national economy and could be looked on, in addition to tourism, "as the main engine of growth in Seychelles."

"Much depends on them and, equally, much will be expected of them," he said.

"The Government regards the extension of the productive base of the economy as a major national goal and will look mainly to the parastatal sector for a major push in this direction. It complements that of achieving a sustained rise in employment levels and real incomes," the President added.

However, Mr Rene said, appropriate reporting and evaluating mechanisms had to be set up as policies had been established and the parastatals could not be allowed "to drift in accordance with their own devices."

The Board of Directors and general manager in each body would be responsible for the adequate performance of their organisations in accordance with a set of criteria laid down for each parastatal, Mr Rene said. SAP

CSO: 1049

AFRIKANERS URGED TO SEARCH FOR 'REALISTIC POLITICAL ALTERNATIVE'

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 83 p 11

[Text] THE president of the Contact Action Group, Mrs Frieda van Rooyen, made an appeal to Die Afrikaer yesterday to search for a realistic political alternative instead of sitting back and criticising existing party politics.

Addressing students at the Rand Afrikaans University, Mrs Van Rooyen called for a better understanding of the various problems facing each and every race group in South Africa in order to find a political solution agreeable to all.

"We cannot operate in isolation, we have to meet and discuss problems that each and every race group is being faced with before we can formulate a workable solution to the political aspirations of each group," she said.

"Before this can be done one has to understand each other's requirements.

"I understand the hardships that our forefathers were faced with before our country reached the stage of advancement that we have now attained, but instead of drawing into a laager and fighting

our problems from within we should be out there sharing and swapping ideas.

"In our attempts to retain everything that we have built up we are in danger of losing everything through our reluctance to share."

Questioning a certain church minister who was quoted over the weekend as saying that his church was for the White man only, she asked who he thought he was.

"Surely it is God's church?" she said.

She urged the man in the street not to sit back

and wait for the Government to solve all the problems.

"Let us follow their (the Government) example and build upon their attempt to find a political solution for the Coloureds, Indians and the Urban Blacks.

"We don't know one another therefore we don't understand one another's culture or language nor their fears or aspirations.

"We cannot continue trying to shove our culture down other's throats. The pity of the thing is that so few Afrikaners will admit to the influence that other cultures have had on their own."

AWB ACCUSED OF DISRUPTING ELECTION MEETINGS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text] NATIONAL Party sources claimed yesterday that organised Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging elements had been behind the rowdy NP Waterkloof constituency by-election meeting in Menlo Park on Wednesday night.

Allegations were made that the AWB had "imported hooligans" in a bid to break up the meeting.

The bid nearly succeeded and saw the speaker, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis, nearly seeing his constitutional reforms vetoed in a no-confidence motion.

Rightwing sources who attended the meeting in fact disputed the ruling of the chairman, former Deputy Minister Mr Herman Martins, that the no-confidence motion had been defeated.

Yesterday Mr Martins, formerly also South African Ambassador to New Orleans, said in an interview that he had

never before seen such "shocking" behaviour as he had at the meeting.

It appeared that AWB elements were behind the constant heckling of Mr Heunis — heckling and cat-calling which

made it virtually impossible to hear the Minister, and had him reacting angrily in frustration, constantly mopping a sweating brow.

The NP candidate in the critical by-election — in a constituency which has long been traditionally hardcore upper class Afrikaner Nationalist — Dr Qrg Marais, also claimed AWB interference.

He said that the same faces of AWB members had been noted at the meeting as had been seen at the rowdy meeting addressed last month by the Minister of National Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Also, the strategic placing of the "troublemakers" was the same — a hardcore of them taking up the second row from the front of the hall and the left and right back rows.

He deplored the "importation" of people into the constituency in an attempt to break up a meeting — "something we would never try to do to Conservative or Progressive Federal Party meetings".

News by Keith Abendroth, 161 Mitchell Street, Pretoria.

SOUTH AFRICAN COMPANIES HEAVILY INVOLVED IN CHILEAN INDUSTRY

Walvis Bay NAMIB TIMES in English 8 Mar 83 p 3

[Text] The South African fishing companies who have invested heavily in the Chilean industry are looking forward to improved trading results for 1983, according to the preliminary profit announcement by the directors of Willem Barendsz Limited.

The directors say that there has been a definite increase in international fishmeal prices and with the enlargement of their fishing fleet servicing the factory in Chile, improved trading results are expected this year.

Provision is nevertheless made by the company for a R250 000 loss in the Chilean fishing venture.

The company's net profit after taxation is put at R503 183 for the year ended 31st Dec. 1982 as against R978 024 for the previous year. The directors explain that the fall in profits is due mainly to a provision for the loss as well as certain other charges relating to the first year

operation of their Chilean fishing venture.

However, the directors are confident that if they succeed in catching and processing their full allocation of fish, they anticipate a higher profit in 1983 than was achieved in the previous year.

Commenting on marketing and profitability the directors state that the industry has been granted a moderate increase in the price of fishmeal for the local market. In addition the increase in the pilchard quota will allow a greater volume of canned product with a corresponding improvement in the profits.

A final ordinary dividend of two cents per share declared and this together with the interim

dividend makes a total dividend of 5 cents per share for the 1982 financial year as against 8,5 cents in 1981.

POSSIBILITY OF 'DEMOCRATIC POLICE FORCE' EXAMINED

Johannesburg POLITIKON in English Vol 9 No 1, Jun 82 pp 40-51

[Article by Terence Beard: "Police and the Just Society*"]

[Text]

ABSTRACT

This paper seeks to explore the notions of justice and democracy through the notion of "police". More specifically, the paper analyses the relations between the police and the public in plural societies and postulates the possibility of a "democratic police force" with reference to South Africa.

There is a tendency in South Africa, particularly at the right end of the political spectrum, to equate justice with self-interest in a way which is somewhat reminiscent of those theories which are entertained by Plato at the beginning of the *Republic*, only to be rejected. In the kinds of cases I am thinking of, justice is equated not with individual self-interest but with the self-interest of groups, where groups are referred to as though they were individuals, and where the self-interest of the ruling group is taken to be paramount. It is, of course, often dressed up in fancy phrases such as 'group self-determination', 'separate freedoms', and the like, but can nevertheless be reduced to notions of justice as the interest of the stronger and justice as self-interest.

On the other hand, there is a tendency at the opposite end of the political spectrum, on the left, to reject or even deride attempts to explore and posit ideas of justice, equity and rights, on the grounds that these are ahistorical, or that they are transient epiphenomena which are socially determined products of the material conditions of society. It is argued that such exercises are no more than Utopian and Idealist mystifications. There is obviously a sense in which such ideas are social products, but there is also a sense in which these views are plainly wrong. Leaving aside the rather crude determinism upon which these views are often based, what they ignore is that notions of justice do not come out of thin air, or like a genii from a lamp that has been rubbed, when the material conditions are appropriate. They have first to be articulated. Where ideas of justice are not articulated, justice will be absent.

***Author's Note:**

This paper was written to be read aloud to an audience and is designed to cater for lay persons as well as academic colleagues and therefore contains over simplifications. For example, no mention is made of liberal democracies which do not have unarmed police forces or which have gendarmerie systems. It is published in its original form.

Terence Beard is Professor and Head of the Department of Political Studies at Rhodes University.

Had Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders taken more seriously the few words written by Marx on the nature of socialist society and paid more attention to socialist goals, it is not impossible that Stalinism might have been avoided or at least that it might have taken a less repressive form. The use of forced labour from the very beginning may be said to have necessitated the growth of bureaucratic and police structures which gradually became central features of the Soviet system, creating, as it were, their own imperatives, and providing a base upon which the Stalinist system could be developed. Planning always requires foresight and the articulation of and choice between alternatives, and if alternatives incorporating ideas of justice are not articulated, the result will be an unjust system. Thus one might argue that there is a place for Utopianism, for as I have suggested, justice will not simply come to those who sit and wait for it, miraculously produced by the material conditions. That kind of mystification is not only silly, it is dangerous.

The more ideas of justice are articulated, debated, analysed, questioned, and bruited about the better. And with respect to individuals, the more we examine our ideas the greater the chance there is of overcoming confusions, and eliminating inconsistencies and incoherences in our own thought systems.

It is a strange fact, that although the notion of "police" is so intimately connected with the concept of justice, so inextricably connected, it might be said, that the two notions are in some contexts inseparable, it is rare for the concept of justice to be explored via the notion of police. And yet in all modern societies the average person is far more aware of the existence of the police, and has far more contact with the police than with any other aspect of the system of administrative justice. Most people regularly see policemen on their daily beats, or driving patrol cars, and television programmes featuring the police are many and popular. Why is it that the connection with justice is not more frequently made, other than in the rather obvious way as when we unreflectingly speak of justice being done, of the criminals getting their due?

For police systems, and the types of police forces which exemplify these different police systems, reveal a great deal about the nature of the societies in which they are found. Police forces stand between the law-abiding and the law-breakers, but they also stand between the powerful and the powerless, the rich and the poor, and between those with high and those with low social status. It is common knowledge that more often than not law-breakers preponderate among the powerless and the poor, which is not to say, of course, that there are not law-breakers among the rich and the powerful, for indeed there are, and their presence can tell us a great deal about the polity. The study of the structures, powers and functions of police forces provides an unusual insight into, and understanding of the relations which exist between the higher and lower political, economic and social strata of societies. Police forces reflect, to an extent which is seldom appreciated, the general social relations within societies.

I want to posit the notion of a democratic police system, which implies a democratic police force, and to employ these notions in such a way as to obtain a perspective from which to examine the notion of a just and democratic society.

The notion of a democratic police system presupposes that the bulk of the more important laws enjoy the support of the vast bulk of the population, and this can normally be taken to imply that the vast bulk of the population have at least some say, even if indirect, in the making of those laws. This in turn implies that the vast bulk of the population be enfranchised. Another minimum requirement is that the legislators be responsible and accountable to the electorate. These might be said to be functional prerequisites in order to ensure the acceptance by the populace of the more important laws, and they are indeed necessary conditions for a free, just and democratic society.

But they are of course not sufficient conditions, and as they stand are too vague, for no principle of equity has been introduced.

The principle of equity demands that there should be universal suffrage, and that there must be clearly defined and justifiable principles for excluding anyone from exercising the franchise. And here I have in mind criteria in terms of which the insane and certain categories of criminals, which would include persons who have been found guilty of electoral malpractices, might be excluded. The principle of equity will have to be applied in arriving at qualifications of candidates for election, qualifications which would ensure that neither lack of wealth nor lack of status affect the eligibility of candidates or their capacity to campaign for election.

It is necessary to stress these requirements because a democratic police system is possible and can remain viable only with public approval, respect and support. The willing co-operation of the public is a *sine qua non* for the success of such a system. And public co-operation is possible only if there is public support and respect for the laws. Only under such conditions is it possible to have a police force which is regarded not only as an essential part of the community, but also as working on behalf of and for the general good of the community. Without universal suffrage, open access to elections, and accountability of legislators to the public, support and respect for the laws is unlikely.

It is perhaps necessary to mention at this point that it is possible for police forces to enjoy support under authoritarian regimes, but only where the police are dedicated to community welfare and where the community accept their positions of subordination. An example of this was to be found in parts of India during certain periods under the Raj before ideas of independence had become widespread. My analysis is, however, predicated upon conditions where there is a fair degree of political awareness, if not mobilization, and in which positions of subordination are not unquestioningly accepted.

Where the laws do not have public support and respect the police will not have public support either. And police forces which do not have public support are almost invariably seen by the public as acting against the public rather than with the public, for the public, and in the public interest. This is a question of crucial importance upon which hinges the difference between a democratic society on the one hand and various forms of authoritarianism on the other. Without public support a police force will constitute a barrier between the holders of power and those over whom they wield that power a kind of bodyguard for the ruling elites, or the ruling class or classes. And it is in circumstances of this kind that the police can become instruments of policy as opposed to impartial servers of the law, instruments of terror as opposed to protectors of the community, and in which the polity ultimately may degenerate into a police state.

The question of public support raises the whole problem of justice in plural societies. Because if the police are to maintain public support and respect and co-operation, it is necessary that they demonstrate constantly their absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, and avoid being regarded as partial by any section of the community. Once they are regarded as partial by any section of the community, the willing co-operation of that section will have been forfeited, and once lost, that respect

and co-operation will be extremely difficult to regain.

It is important to notice that an analysis in terms of the relations between the police and the public focusses attention upon the general public rather than upon the ruling elites or the ruling class or classes. I stress this because one of the main features of much of pluralist writing is the emphasis not upon the general public but upon the elites. Many pluralist theories are based upon variations on the theme of elite accommodation, and elite accommodation theories presuppose relatively passive grass roots support for group leaders, and tend to ignore the remoteness of the decision-making centres from the people who will be most affected, the groups or sections of the population which together constitute the general public.

In countries which have plural societies any inequalities of treatment or inequalities of power or wealth between one group and another will be reflected in the relations between the police and the public, and more noticeably and particularly in the relations between the police and members of any group or groups which are discriminated against. And in a society in which there is a high degree of consistence between ethnicity and material wealth, and in which the dominant group is also the wealthiest — of which South Africa is something of a prototype — any attempt to move from what Professor Degenaar would term conflict pluralism to consensus pluralism which is not accompanied by economic redistributions of a substantive kind would not only run the risk of driving wedges between leaders and their followers, and hence of failure, but would not be conducive to the institution of a democratic police force.

The policing of economically depressed areas is never an easy task, but when it is compounded and exacerbated by racial polarisation, it becomes a super-human task, as has been revealed in Britain where the popular image of the 'English bobby' has taken a series of severe knocks with the growth of economically disadvantaged black immigrant populations in some of the larger cities. The recent riots are testimony to that, and the black umbrella body which was formed in Britain last year is reported to have "refused all co-operation with the police whose alleged harrassment of blacks is blamed for much of the current ill-feeling."¹ Crime rates among the poor, as I have already observed, are almost always higher than among the better-off, with the result that it is the poor who come most into contact with the police, and where ethnicity and economic disadvantage coincide, good relations between the police and the public can become almost impossible to attain. And bad relations between the police and sections of the public, particularly where ethnic groups are involved, are fairly reliable indicators of political discontent.

Attempts, therefore, to cobble together some form of elite accommodation at the top, while paying little heed to those at the lower levels of the social strata, are likely to fall well short of the goal of a just and democratic society, if indeed they do not fail altogether. A democratic police force requires popular support, or at least acceptance of the basic laws and institutions of government, and this implies the necessity not only of *de jure* but also of *de facto* legitimacy of those institutions and the political leaders who operate them. Political obligation can become a vacuous notion where the laws and institutions are not voluntarily accepted by the general public, and, what is

more, the authority of those who hold political office is rooted in that basic acceptance. Systems which lack this basic support lack legitimacy and sometimes can only be held together, if at all, by use of the iron fist.

The necessity that the police give absolutely impartial service to law, in complete independence of policy, has implications far beyond the police themselves. For it implies that government refrains from attempting to employ the police as instruments of policy, and that the police must enjoy a relative autonomy *vis-à-vis* government, while at the same time police accountability to both parliament or the legislature, and to the public, must be ensured. Impartial service to law is possible only when the police are accountable for their actions, and accountability is incompatible with secrecy. Justice must not only be done but seen to be done, which means that police activities must on the whole be subject to public scrutiny. Public scrutiny is the surest guard against corruption.

Impartial service to law in complete independence of policy implies furthermore that the police be apolitical in the performance of their duties, which necessitates that their duties do not require them to make political judgments as must be the case when citizens are subject to administrative restrictions and punishments such as detention without trial and banning orders. It means that the police must in no way usurp the powers of the courts, and *pari passu* that government should not usurp or derogate from the powers of the courts, for apart from the implications which this has for the system of justice, such usurpation or derogation cannot but rebound back upon the police, undermining their proper functions.

It is essential that the police use physical force only when it is absolutely necessary, when persuasion fails, and that only the minimum degree of physical force is used necessary to attain a police objective.² The main object of an efficient democratic police force is the prevention of crime and disorder, as an alternative to their repression by military force and severity of legal punishment. And this object can only be successfully achieved where there is general public support and approval both of the police and their functions, while only by adhering to this principle can the police win and maintain public support and approval.

The just society not only encapsulates these norms and practices but also incorporates as a measure of its justness the principle that legitimacy rests not merely upon legality and right, but also upon overall public support. In other words, legitimacy here combines the concepts of legal and political obligation with the Weberian notion of legitimacy. Where there is no public support justice is unlikely to be found. The just society which I am skeletally outlining is based upon universal suffrage, with representatives accountable to the electorate *inter alia* to endeavour to ensure that the laws are not only just but that they have public support, and to prevent any slide from a system based upon right to one based upon might.

If the police are accorded this support and approval, it becomes possible to entertain the idea of the police being unarmed, for this is the ultimate test of both a stable and relatively contented community and of a democratic police force. Only democratic police forces are able to go unarmed. To send out unarmed policemen into a community which rejects them would be rather like sending them defenceless into a lion's den. Given a relatively

politically developed community, or at least a politically aware community, I find it difficult to think of a better litmus test for a reasonably contented community – and it is hard to think of a better goal in a plural society in which there is a high degree of political consciousness, because in order to achieve this goal so many other conditions would first have to be satisfied. It would force attention not only upon political equality but also upon economic equality. It would mean that the police system itself could not be repressive, and this would necessitate proper procedures, fair and just procedures in the administration of justice. It would mean the right to a fair trial, *habeas corpus*, and the exclusion of what the American constitution terms “cruel and unusual punishments”.³ It would have important implications for the methods employed in the name of national security, and indeed the very definition of national security itself. It would also imply the right to peaceful protest.

The right to protest is a vital right in any democratic society, and a democratic police force would not only depend upon this right being guaranteed but would welcome and defend it. As Richard Clutterbuck has put it: “Protest is necessary to maintain a fair rate of change in the face of entrenched interests in any society – both to further the will of the majority and to attain equity for minorities. If peaceful protest for either of these is forbidden, or if it never achieves results, violence in the end is certain to ensue, and moral justification will be claimed for it.” If the right to protest is not guaranteed and protest is made illegal, the police will be unable to retain the image of impartiality in the face of protests which might nevertheless be mounted by disaffected sections of the community, and their duty of *de facto* impartiality will not only be placed under considerable strain, but is likely to become impossible to fulfil. Protests are an essential safety-valve in a democratic society, a point made also by Clutterbuck, and peaceful protest is an important factor in circumventing more dangerous forms of protest. Clutterbuck goes so far as to assert that: “The biggest single contribution to keeping protest peaceful is the existence of an unarmed police force, but in a potential riot situation an isolated and unarmed policeman can only function if he is confident that the public accept responsibility for his safety as much as he accepts responsibility for theirs.”⁴ A democratic police force is thus dependent upon relations of mutual or reciprocal support and respect between the police and the public.

I have given a far from exhaustive account of the nature of a democratic police force in this somewhat sketchy account, but the imperatives of time and space dictate that I should pass on now to consider the special case of South Africa in the light of the points which have been elaborated.

There are many books, articles and newspaper reports charting the developments which have taken place in South Africa over the years, and it is easy to find lists of laws and governmental administrative actions together with comments and criticisms of them. What I shall attempt therefore, in the first place, is to present a brief overview giving what I take to be certain aspects of ‘the state of the nation’. And, consonant with the perspective which I have been developing, I shall begin with the police.

At the present time, in South Africa, police powers are greater than they have ever been in our history. There is a great deal of evidence to show that

the police have become instruments of government policy. For a start, their political powers are so wide, so all-embracing, as to make it virtually impossible not to be political instruments of the government. By administrative act, any person may be detained without trial for an indefinite period, and even the fact of such a detention may be withheld not only from the public but also from Parliament. A person may, to all intents and purposes, simply disappear without trace. The Government may, by administrative act, which usually means upon the advice of the police, declare any organisation whatever to be illegal, and confiscate its funds. Persons may be banished from one part of the country to another, placed under restrictions ranging from prohibitions from attending social gatherings to house arrest. The powers of the security police are as great as they are anywhere else in the world. Police powers have been so substantially increased over the past three decades as to be nothing less than frightening, and instances are not wanting in which senior police officers have revealed that they regard themselves as not being bound by law, as being above the law, justifying the judgment that their powers are frightening.

The secrecy which now surrounds police activities, a secrecy the scope of which includes even Parliament, has to a large extent placed our police force beyond scrutiny and thus beyond accountability. It is now virtually a power unto itself. South Africa has degenerated into what must frankly be termed a kind of police state. The counter-argument that the police are accountable to the Government through the Minister of Police carries no force, for the police are government instruments and the secrecy which shrouds their activities was created by the Government and is employed by the Government to deny even Parliament access to the relevant information.

And this leads to an assessment of the state of government itself. The Government has the power by administrative act, presumably upon police advice, to disallow the candidature of any person seeking legislative office in any of our political institutions including Parliament itself. In terms of existing legislation any sitting member of Parliament may be expelled and prevented from seeking redress through the electorate. And this remains so in spite of the fact that the electorate comprises but a small percentage of the total possible voting population and would be unlikely to give significant support to candidates whose views are not in conformity with what are seen as 'white' interests. The electorate cannot be said to be sovereign except in ways dictated and defined by the government. It might be added that the electoral laws have recently been amended, and are about to be amended again, so as to make it as difficult as possible for candidates representing small parties and independent candidates to stand for election. Ever more stringent conditions are being introduced.

Parliament itself has undergone considerable changes over the past decades. The powers of Parliament have been steadily eroded and usurped by the Government, and ministers now enjoy executive discretionary powers undreamed of a generation ago when they were already greater than in any western democracy. What is more, there is no back-bench tradition of jealously guarding the powers of Parliament and challenging the executive whenever legislation contains extensions of executive discretionary powers. Such challenges are left entirely to the Opposition. On the contrary, it might be asserted that there is a counter-tradition of extending ministerial discre-

tionary powers whenever possible. The fears expressed from time to time in Britain, by parliamentarians and academics alike, of the growth of executive powers, are almost laughable when the position in Britain is compared and contrasted with that in South Africa. When it is asserted, as it not infrequently is by members of the Government, and echoed by the S.A.B.C., that the Westminster system has failed in South Africa, it might be said to be true not because the system does not lend itself to the Government's constitutional proposals, but rather because not only have the majority of the population been excluded from representation, but also because most of the Westminster traditions which ever did have any significance in South Africa have been dissipated and abandoned. In South Africa the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty has been transformed from a constitutional doctrine to a political doctrine permitting governments to over-ride all opposition.

The increase in executive discretion has, of course, had substantial implication for the civil service, the bureaucracy, for obviously ministerial powers are frequently delegated to the bureaucracy. Not only have the powers of the bureaucracy been enormously increased as a consequence of this trend, but the bureaucracy has grown significantly in size over the years and is no longer comparable with that of any other capitalist country. Furthermore there is substantial evidence to support the view that civil servants too have become instruments of government policy in the sense that no longer can they be deemed to be impartial administrators of the law, but rather 'aparatchiks', over supporters of the ruling party. The distinction between the Government and the state has been so blurred as virtually to have broken down.

Africans are forced to submit to a vast administratively controlled internal passport and labour control system which is not only unjust but productive of the greatest hardship and disruption of family life. In fact, I do not think it any exaggeration to say that South Africa today more closely resembles the Soviet Union than does any other state which is not under some form of self-proclaimed Marxist regime. And as a matter of fact it more closely resembles the Soviet Union than does present-day Zimbabwe, for all rhetoric with which we are confronted. In South Africa today, democratic values and practices are conspicuous by their absence.

It is against this background that the question of how South Africa can be steered in the direction of a just society must be addressed. Whites have in the past enjoyed a fair degree of political freedom, a freedom which they have persistently denied to blacks. And because of this denial, whites have forfeited that freedom in the pursuit of an ever receding security. As I see it, one of the great difficulties facing us is that we require not only changes in our political institutions and changes in our distribution of wealth, but changes also in our political culture. And these latter changes range far beyond racial discrimination and race attitudes, to include our notions of justice, both political and economic as well as our notions of justice in procedures. And how is this to be achieved in the face of authoritarian values and styles of political rule which are so palpably lacking in standards and principles? The authoritarian style of rule is fast becoming endemic in South Africa and now markedly characterises the government of the Ciskei as well as the government of Transkei. One can understand in a new light Rousseau's enigmatic statement: "Free peoples, be mindful of this maxim: 'Liberty may be gained, but can

never be recovered.' " But in spite of this note of pessimism, it is imperative, as I remarked at the outset, that ideas of justice and democracy be articulated and ways explored of moving in that direction.

Looking at South Africa from the perspective of the police system, not only have there not been changes in a more enlightened direction, towards a recognition of human rights and the Rule of Law in the Diceyan sense, but what changes there have been have taken the form of putting the finishing touches to the police state. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that whatever changes are being contemplated by the Government are being envisaged within the overall framework of the existing security laws, within, that is to say, the framework of the police state. This would be a most dangerous procedure, for it is unlikely that in those circumstances the polarization of our society would stand any chance of being diffused or dissolved and the support of the black 'man in the street' enlisted. I would argue that it is absolutely essential that changes in the direction of a more open society are necessary along with changes in the direction of political and economic equality.

While I have argued that police systems reflect the societies of which they form a part, and I shall return to develop this point in relation to South Africa, and while I have argued that a democratic police force can work only in a democracy, there are nevertheless a vast number of changes, mainly relating to procedural justice, which are both possible and necessary in any move in a democratic direction, and which could be implemented in the short run. While one can understand the fears on the part of many whites that any relaxation in the security laws might result in civil disorder, it is arguable that there are changes which would not affect the overall security position. Failure to make such changes, I would maintain, is likely to be even more counter-productive in the long run. Harsh security laws in the face of growing political disaffection tend to be subject to a law of diminishing returns, which is why there is seemingly no end to the process of adding new security law to new security law in the vain effort to contain a disaffected population. As people become more and more disaffected, they become prepared to make ever greater sacrifices, and once the stage has been reached where breaches of the security laws involve the frequent use of the death penalty and people are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the cause of a new political dispensation, these laws cease to constitute a deterrent and become a challenge.

As a first step towards the restoration of procedural justice, *habeas corpus* could be restored in all cases not involving violence, and in so far as cases of violence are concerned, detention without trial could be made subject to review by an impartial judicial body. It is essential that no-one be held without good reason and that reasons should be tabled in Parliament and made known to the public. The various forms of banning orders should be abolished. They too are counter-productive as well as being administrative and unjust forms of punishment. Banning orders have probably produced more radicals than they have silenced, and are a cause of polarization.

The rights of accused persons should be fully restored; and I have in mind *inter alia* the right to consult a lawyer when arrested, and the restoration of the warning that anything an accused might say can be used in evidence against them — a very different procedure from that in which persons are held until they have made statements to the satisfaction of the in-

vestigating police officer. The conviction of accused persons on the basis of statements from persons held in solitary confinement — and I use the term in its literal rather than its technical sense — which is a form of duress, is bound to result sometimes in the conviction of the innocent. Solitary confinement should be abolished as it is a cruel and inhuman punishment. Many cases which are heard after the accused persons have been held for periods in solitary confinement turn to a significant extent upon political rather than legal or judicial criteria. What is needed is the elimination as far as possible of the political or ideological content of the security laws and the ensuring that the police are able to give their impartial service to law. The administration of justice should be restored to its proper place — the courts of law.

Secrecy should be reduced to the very minimum. Obviously there are occasions when secrecy is necessary, but secrecy has become a government way of life in South Africa, and, as I have written elsewhere, secrecy is the handmaid of corruption.

These reforms would not only be a very healthy advance, they would constitute a gigantic leap towards justice in procedures, or procedural justice — I make no greater claim for them — and would enable the police to begin to divorce themselves from their instrumental role as tools of the Government and to reinstate the principle of impartiality. Total impartiality is however a long-term goal dependent upon the repeal of discriminatory legislation and unpopular laws.

These reforms are suggested as a possible first step, as was said above, but it is important that they should be accompanied by political and economic changes of a kind calculated to give real hope to the disenfranchised members of our population if they are to have any effect upon the relations between the black public and the police. South Africa has reached her present condition because reforms were not introduced decades ago. Resistance to reform has resulted only in escalation of our problems, in increased polarization and ever greater threats to stability, and an ever growing number of blacks prepared to resort to violence. There is little point either in blaming it on communism, for communism would not constitute a threat were it not for the fact that the majority of our population is alienated and disaffected.

I return now to the point that police systems reflect the general social relations of the societies of which they form a part. An explanation of how and why we have the kind of society which we have, and the kind of police system which we have, would require a fairly detailed historical and social analysis of the process whereby the white settlers conquered the indigenous populations of South Africa in the fight over material resources, and in the process dispossessed them of a large proportion of their land. The conquest of the land introduced a new era which witnessed the agricultural development of land followed by the development of industry and commerce in the nascent urban centres. Development in all of these sectors produced a need for labour, and it became the fate of blacks in South Africa to be treated largely as a source of labour for farmers and entrepreneurs. To ensure that labour was available in viable quantities a vast bureaucracy was gradually developed for controlling and regulating the supply of labour, a supply which was produced through legislation introducing taxes and various other means which made it necessary for blacks to participate in the cash economy. And so there

grew the system of migratory labour and of cheap black labour. Bureaucratic administrative control of black labour necessitated the growth of a police system to ensure that the system ran smoothly, with a police force responsible for ensuring that pass laws and other regulatory laws were adhered to.

The relations between the black public and the police are well illustrated in the case of Natal, where, prior to Union, relations were paternalistic but based upon mutual respect, and where with the growth of the economy a gradual deterioration in these relations could be charted. As blacks began to challenge their subordination and to mobilize politically a new era of security legislation was ushered in with vast increases in police powers.

This is a very sketchy outline indeed, but its purpose is simply to make clear that for any significant changes in our police system in a democratic direction, it will first be necessary to dismantle this system of control and the bureaucratic apparatuses which operate it. Only then will it become possible to contemplate the institution of a democratic police force.

I take it for granted that all discriminatory legislation must go as well as all those laws directly connected with the structures mentioned above. Population registration based upon race and ethnicity must be abandoned and the Improper Interference Act repealed, so that voluntary political associations can arise in the place of associations based upon groups defined from above in terms of legislation.

While a just and democratic society would have to take into account the presence of group consciousness and the fears of minority groups, it seems to me that this should be predicated upon the protection of individual rights rather than *vice versa*. I would argue for universal suffrage and a common voters roll, an entrenched Bill of Rights which could include clauses for the protection of minorities. Institutions designed to overcome group fears ought to be developed. One of the main difficulties in framing a constitution, to my mind, lies in devising a scheme whereby minorities are afforded real protection while redistributions of wealth remain possible. This is a real problem, for devices such as minority vetoes are obstacles to change, certainly to rapid change, while future stability depends upon change rapid enough not to frustrate the expectations of the disadvantaged majority of the population.

It should not be thought either that redistribution can be left to private enterprise once discriminatory legislation has been repealed, for state intervention will be a necessity if change is to be rapid enough. It might be objected that whites have too much to lose and will not be prepared to accept changes of so far-reaching a kind. One can only reply that the longer change is postponed the more radical it is likely to be, and that sacrifices are unavoidable. What is more, justice demands that whites make sacrifices. At the same time it is not impossible that a kind of Rawlsian principle could be adopted to allay the fears of whites.

At the present time redistribution is being imposed by the Government in terms of which it can be said that everyone loses. Farmers are deprived of their land, blacks are settled on this land in such numbers that they face starvation, many coming from urban centres where the informal sector secured them at least some sustenance, and the land itself is being so destroyed as to be unproductive for the foreseeable future. Thus the country as a whole is also losing. In terms of the kind of formula I have in mind, redistributions could

be restricted to cases where it does not adversely affect overall productivity beyond a certain degree, and where the benefit to those gaining by the redistribution is greater than the loss suffered by those who lose, and if the losers are compensated for their loss. This would certainly be more in the interests of all the parties concerned and the country as a whole than the present system of redistribution.

Only when the basic redistributions have been accomplished and South Africa has been further developed will a democratic police force become a real possibility. On the other hand there is no reason why the foundations of such a system might not begin to be laid once the system of discrimination has been abolished. A judicial enquiry could be set up in order to determine whether it would be desirable to form an entirely new police force, or whether it would be possible to so transform the present force as to give it an image consistent with the building up of a democratic police system. Let it not be thought that I am here attacking or blaming the police force in making this suggestion. For they are largely victims of the system, and the unpopular laws were not of their making. The blame should be placed fairly and squarely upon the successive South African governments and the electorates which returned them, if it is to be placed anywhere. At the same time I must not be taken to be ignoring the deficiencies of our police, for they are many and have been much written about, particularly in the press.

I conclude with the observation that South Africa is faced with the problem of independent 'homelands' in which local loyalties have to an extent been built up, and in which leaders have vested interests in retaining their positions of power, and which are likely to prove obstacles in the way of the reunification of South Africa. Ideally, a just and democratic South Africa would include not only these 'homelands', but also Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia. It might also include Zimbabwe, and, if the historical and cultural differences are not too great a bar, Mocambique.

It would be in the interests of justice to unify the entire region, assuming of course a voluntary union, for not only would it permit of a more rational development, it would solve problems of transport and communication, and, most important, it would better enable poorly developed areas and enclaves to benefit from the unevenly distributed natural resources of the region. Perhaps such a unification would give a new impetus to unification in other parts of Africa to the mutual benefit of the peoples of the continent.

With development and a fair distribution of wealth in our region, the possibilities for stability will be considerably enhanced and, I hope, make it possible to develop a just and democratic society with a democratic police system.

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See Charles Reith on the nine principles upon which the London Metropolitan Police were based. It is from these principles that the concept of a democratic police force derive. For Plato's discussion on justice referred to, see Book 1 and 2 of *The Republic of Plato*. The quotation from Rousseau is to be found in *The Social Contract*, Book 2, Chapter 8.

JOHAN VAN DER VYVER ON SECURITY, HUMAN RIGHTS

Johannesburg POLITIKON in English Vol 9 No 1, Jun 82 pp 52-58

[Article by Johan van der Vyver, Professor in the School of Law at the University of the Witwatersrand: "State Security, Human Rights and the Rule of Law"]

[Text]

ABSTRACT

This article suggests that the principle of state security should always be seen in relation to principles of a more universal nature. Political power in short, should never be an end in itself but a means to ensure the social aspirations of the citizens

Within the context of human society man functions not only as an individual, but also within, and as part and parcel of a great variety of social entities. Involvement of man in the structure and relations of social reality constitutes, in my opinion, an essential precondition for the meaningful existence of the human person as a necessary instrument of the Divine Providence of God.

The aspirations of man in society may cover a wide range of both self-centred and social desires, but can in the final analysis be reduced to but a few basic needs:

- (a) a prosperous, happy and complacent life within the private enclave of one's personal household;
- (b) pacific co-operation and mutual interdependence of individuals and group entities within a multitude of social relations and community structures; and, in general, -
- (c) the harmonious and peaceful co-existence with one's fellow-man in an orderly society.

Communities have come to rely rather heavily on the depositories of political authority to secure these elementary social demands of man and to combat the powers which obstruct their realization. The response of the body politic to this call of society finds expression in a variety of state-imposed laws.

The law, being sanctioned by coercive means of enforcement and backed by the strong arm of the state, is particularly suited to achieve and to maintain an orderly social dispensation that would to a large extent secure prosperity, peace and general satisfaction for the bulk of society. Nineteenth century positivism, in fact, entertained a popular notion that legislatures were omnipotent and that any wish of Parliament could, by the stroke of a lawgiver's pen, be transformed into law. This, of course, is a misconception

The capacity of the law to appease the social appetite of the people upon the basis of order and stability is indeed not unlimited. The ineptitude of the law in manipulating social conditions stems from essential limitations inherent in the very concept and idea of law.

The law is, in the first place, bound, (as a matter of necessity) to reflect those constitutive principles that belong to its structural make-up and which are as such presupposed by every rule of law and legal system. To qualify as law in the juridical sense, the enactments of a legislature or other law-creating agency must remain within the confines and bear the stamp of that vital element which causes the law to be the law — whatever that element may be. Those enactments are furthermore bound by various foundational substrata, such as territorial limits (Transkei cannot legislate for Lesotho), a basic power structure to support the implementation machinery of the law (law without means of enforcement is useless), the existence of social accessories (the law regulates human relations and will therefore be meaningless in a Robinson Crusoe situation) and so on. The law is also influenced by a variety of 'external circumstances', such as the geographical setting, mineral wealth and weather conditions of the territory in which it is to operate, the composition of the local population and the political predilections, moral consciousness and religious convictions of the people, the prevailing social conditions, cultural refinement and economic structure, and so on. Mention can finally be made of the law's self-imposed substantive and procedural restraints, which may include material limitations enunciated in a Bill of Rights or extraordinary formalities for the enactment of statutory law, such as two-thirds majority support in parliament, consensus of decision-taking authorities or sanctioning by means of referendum.

These conditions of legality are supplemented by regulative principles of the legal idea: that is, ethically-based norms or ideal directives of what the law ought to be. Those principles may be seen as criteria of legitimacy, pointing to the compatibility of the law with the dictates of legal ethics.

I shall not dwell upon the intricacies and controversies surrounding the exact nature, meaning and impact of the various impediments which do or may obstruct the law's usefulness as an instrument of social control. For purposes of this article it will suffice to simply assert the obvious, namely that a certain measure of peace, stability and security in a political community ranks amongst the external circumstances which determine the effective functioning of the law.

STATE SECURITY

The right, competence and, in fact, the duty of the State to safeguard its own security are consequently equally evident; and it may also be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that doing so has become extremely difficult and exacting.

Over the ages the growth in human sophistication coincided with increasing difficulties in affording legal protection to the private and social interests of man in society. The evolution of community institutions has culminated in social, economic and political problems of immense magnitude and intricate complexity. In the Third World the forces engendered by those problems are particularly challenging. The plural composition of national states in Africa tends to intensify sectional strife based on ethnic alliances and group polarization, and instances of seditious propaganda, general unrest and even acts of public violence, sabotage and terrorism have become commonplace in our part of the world. It is as though all institutionalized values have fallen prey to

a total onslaught which threatens the very core of established social structures. Moreover, contemporary methods of subversion are quite novel, cunning and relentless.

The governments of Africa — and for that matter of most countries in the world — are confronted by serious internal security problems. In South and Southern Africa the authorities have resorted to exceptionally stringent measures which denote a definite tendency towards a strong power-based control of libertarian values such as free speech, political opinion, public gatherings and the dissemination of information through the mass media.

The question to be considered is if, and in how far, safety measures for the maintenance of state security, public order or the national interest should conform to those morally-based principles that have over the years crystallized as acceptable standards of what the law ought to be. I propose to deal with two such principles only, to wit those included in the idea of human rights and the rule of law, and my analysis will furthermore not so much focus on the subject-matter or material contents of state security measures, but on the formal framework of executive powers in the area of internal security.

I wish to emphasise at the outset that my own views in this regard are based upon certain fundamental predilections which, in general, totally reject the supposition that in state security matters no rules apply. Counter-insurgency must honour the basic norms of law and justice. A government who abandons the rules of the game which are associated with civilized law enforcement would lose respectability. Under no circumstances whatsoever should the patron of law and order sink to the level of those who seek to create anarchy.

I also believe that coercive and violent suppression of revolutionary forces without more ado can seldom claim more than short-term successes. Notable response to incitement is more often than not founded upon general resentment, and unless legitimate grievances are properly attended to, sporadic resistance may grow into an extensive, ceaseless and unconquerable menace. Long-term solutions to subversion must always be sought at the roots of discontentment.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The doctrine of human rights includes a variety of fairly divergent ideas, yet there is more or less agreement amongst protagonists of that doctrine as to its basic assumptions. The foundational principle underlying the notion of human rights can perhaps be reduced to a sacred concern for the intrinsic value of human life and an unconditional insistence upon the appraisal of every human being according to his/her individual merit.

The message of the human rights idea is primarily addressed to persons in authority and particularly to governments who, by virtue of the political power entrusted to them as an essential ingredient of their office, are factually capable of disregarding the basic human attributes of their subjects to an extent that could practically reduce the status of the subordinates to a condition of slavery. The purpose of human rights ideals is simply to protect an enclave of rights, freedoms and competencies of individual citizens of the state against governmental encroachments in order to preserve the dignity and worth of

the individual within a political society

It is also generally accepted that any meaningful protection of human rights presupposes

- (a) realization of the right to self-determination of peoples, which includes the full and free participation of all the adult citizens of a particular political community in the legislative and governmental processes of that community; and
- (b) adherence to the principle of equality, which requires the equal treatment of every individual within a particular community by and before the law, and which only permits a classification of persons and differentiations between groups of persons for purposes of the law in cases where a definite reasonable foundation for the classification and differentiations in question can be demonstrated.

According to the contemporary standard theories of human rights the particular rights and freedoms to be protected on the basis of the principle of self-determination and equality, need not be the same at all places or remain immutable for all times. They may vary in accordance with what Gustav Radbruch, called *die Natur der Sache*—that is, the natural, social and juridical circumstances of a given time and place.¹ In international law the particular human rights of the individual are commonly sub-divided into, on the one hand, economic, social and cultural rights and, on the other hand, civil and political rights. In the United States of America, again, it has become the fashion to distinguish between substantive and procedural human rights.

As far as the problem of state security is concerned the principle of human rights comes into play on the level of, on the one hand, the causes of, and on the other hand, the remedy for, civil disobedience; and although these two spheres of human rights involvement may seem worlds apart, they actually represent two sides of the same coin.

Not infrequently, a state's internal security problems are due to the governments' disregard for the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of its subjects. That is the one side to the matter. Human rights considerations also play a part when the resultant discontent of a suppressed people has escalated into active resistance and the authorities entrusted with the maintenance of law and order find themselves tempted, or even obliged, to suppress public disturbances by forceful means, which disregard the fundamental norms and procedures of an enlightened society. Which again raises the question whether or not state authority would legitimately be entitled to dispense with procedural human rights when state security is at stake?

There is no simple answer to this question. The Roman law maxim: *salus reipublicae suprema lex* (the well-being of the State is the highest law) seems to suggest that human rights considerations must always be rated secondary to the maintenance of law and order, but analysis will show that stringent security measures which entirely disregard basic procedural values, such as the guarantee against arbitrary arrests and detention, and the right to a fair trial and due process of law, will in the long run enhance rather than eliminate or control public unrests.

Discontent on the part of a suppressed people can, to a large extent, be

inhibited by the depositories of coercive means of compulsion within a particular political community. The history of the world has on many occasions witnessed governments startling the fear of hell into their subjects and causing the people through brutal intimidation, to resign themselves to a state of terrified obedience. Situations may even arise in which a State would find itself physically capable of slaughtering a substantial number of obstructionists under its control. But these, I dare say, are not the methods to go by in civilized communities. Not only will the life-span of a political society consisting of a dehumanized bunch of conformists and in which the maintenance of law and order has been preconditioned by awe-inspiring force, be extremely limited indeed, but the fact also remains that the very concept of law, as a set of norms focussed upon the balancing of conflicting interests for the purpose of maintaining order within human society, presupposes an equilibrium between, on the one hand, the historical power-structure that must secure the effective functioning of the law's implementation machinery and, on the other hand, a psychologically based regard for and acceptance of the law by the people as a commendable institution of society which more or less satisfies their sense of justice.

F J van Zyl explained that if, in view of their psychological sense of justice, the subordinates of state authority were to regard enactments of the legislature as real law, that is as norms truly destined to guarantee order by means of retribution within the community, they would respect those enactments as such; otherwise they would view the law with distrust and as a means for creating anarchy through violence.² In the latter instance the danger of revolt against the establishment becomes imminent. Viewing the same problem from a somewhat different angle, Gustav Radbruch, the eminent German legal philosopher whose views had largely been fashioned by the horrors of the Nazi regime in his fatherland, suggested that subjects should, in the interest of legal certainty, suffer a measure of injustice; but if any particular legal system were to sanction excessive injustices to an extent that would substantiate doubt in the minds of reasonable men as to whether the legislature could possibly have intended to inflict such hardship on its subordinates, considerations of legal certainty would disappear and the people would be morally entitled to ignore the enactments in question and to resort to the norms of *das übergesetzliche Recht* or natural law.³

It stands to reason that the greater the propensity for the subjects to rebel against the political and legal system, the greater the need to increase the powers of those entrusted with the maintenance of law and order. Progressive abridgements of human rights principles which almost invariably accompany increases in coercive powers, must in turn augment resistance, which would again call for yet further excesses in executive powers for the purpose of coping with the growth in security risk. In the process of resistance to the law and counter-resistance sanctioned by means of increasingly oppressive measures, one can reach a stage where the depositories of state authority would find themselves compelled to accede to government by brute force. In a sense, extreme powers of that nature would amount to a lawlessness on the part of the government that could lead to a total breakdown of the legal order which the authorities had attempted to preserve.

To prevent such a state of affairs, the strong arm of government ought

always to be counterbalanced by, *inter alia*, respect for the law on the part of the subjects of state authority — which, in turn, implies that the legal institutions of the involved political community must reflect the respect by the persons in authority for the dignity and worth of their subordinates. The capacity of the law to preserve order within a political society is not unlimited and should in any event comply with the values of an ethically based superstructure. Even the most crucial security measures of the State are not exempt from moral scrutiny.

RULE OF LAW

Analysis of the impact of the principle underlying the rule of law leads very much to the same conclusion.

The concept of 'rule of law' was introduced into political theory and originally defined by the famous English constitutional lawyer, A.V. Dicey as simply denoting certain fundamental rules of the British political dispensation. Dicey's notion was, however, soon transformed, in a series of interpretations, into a universal *Sollensprinzip*: that is an aggregate of directive norms signifying how the body politic ought to be constructed. In the process of reading moral substance into the Dicenian idea of rule of law, protagonists of the concept unfortunately quite often followed the dictates of their own subjective predilections, thereby deviating even further from Dicey's original intention. The confusion that resulted led Sir Ivor Jennings to liken the rule of law to an unruly horse. Said he: "If analysis is attempted, it is found that the idea includes notions which are essentially imprecise."¹

The ambiguity and controversial nature of the rule of law in present-day interpretations is largely attributable to the fact that over-zealous exponents of the principles which it entails have attempted to increase the ambit of the rule of law so as to include in a single concept all the commendable norms that ought to govern the structural make-up of a political society. One should, in my opinion, restore the exact meaning and clear purport of the rule of law by cutting it down to size and reducing it to but one of many directives that would regulate the ideal state. In this regard I fully endorse the suggestion by O.D. Schreiner: "If that concept (i.e. 'rule of law') is not sufficient to achieve the good life, by all means put forward new proposals, but do not, I suggest, use the old name as if it imperceptibly acquired a wholly new meaning."

Bearing in mind the original phraseology used by Dicey to define the rule of law, I suggest that the concept should remain confined to the formal principle which requires all the organs of state authority to operate under legally sanctioned restraints. The direct opposite of a rule-of-law regime in this sense would be government by arbitrary decree. Arbitrary rule is indeed the worst form of anarchy.

Almost a century ago Lord Acton coined the phrase: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely."² Emil Brunner expressed the same sentiments in the following terms: "To possess power is a constant temptation to abuse power."³ The corruptive propensity of excessive administrative powers is no less menacing when such powers are sanctioned by security legislation.

Arbitrary powers conferred upon the executive branch of government for the purpose of protecting state security and maintaining public order would include all instances where the relevant competencies are not subject to external control. It, therefore, comprises cases where a monitoring of executive decisions is altogether excluded, as well as cases where the executive is entrusted with the task of reviewing its own decisions. External control, preferably in the form of juridical review, is an essential ingredient of a legal dispensation based on the rule of law.

I would like to emphasise that my personal opposition to arbitrary powers in all fields of law, including the domain of state security, is not based on sympathy with those who seek change and reform by illegal means. I, in fact, reject and detest all manifestations of lawlessness. But, by the same token, arbitrary executive powers contradict the essence of legality. No-one ought to be above the law, least of all those who are expected to administer and uphold it.

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KOORNHOF ACCUSED OF DELAYING TOWNSHIP'S PROGRESS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 83 p 9

[Article by Monk Nkomo]

[Text] **THE ATTERIDGEVILLE/Saulsville Community Council** this week lashed out at the Department of Co-operation and Development and accused the Minister Dr Piet Koornhof of creating "Red-tape" and retarding the progress of the township.

In a scathing attack on the department, Mr Joseph Tshabalala, the council's chairman, said the minister was always available to meet the "unpopular" administration board officials on issues such as rent increases in the townships but unavailable when the council wanted to discuss with him burning issues concerning the township.

"Almost everything we want here must first get ministerial approval. Each time we seek that approval we are told the minister is either very busy or unavailable. We feel that it is now time for him to know his priorities as a minister of a department that governs millions of blacks in the

country," he said. "He must have time for us and he must have time to meet us each time we want to."

Mr Tshabalala's attack on the department followed numerous complaints from residents that the council was doing nothing to alleviate the housing crisis.

The council has for the past year or two, announced that about 100 residential sites were available in the townships, but because of "red-tape" no progress had been made and no sites allotted. The official waiting list for houses now stands at about 1 600.

Mr Tshabalala said while the Government was "making a lot of noise" about boosting black housing in the country, they were concentrating on Soweto. The progress of Atteridgeville/Saulsville township was being retarded by "the very minister who is in charge of our affairs," the council leader said.

DEFENSE AMENDMENT BILL DEBATE REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Mar 83 p 4

[Text]

Swart Condemns Options Facing Army Objectors

OBJECTORS to national service were expected to do alternative service under conditions of bondage, Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Berea) said.

Opposing the second reading of the Defence Amendment Bill, Mr Swart said it gave objectors two options — to go to jail for eight years or to leave the country — a "totally myopic and unreasonable attitude".

The kind of alternative service they were expected to do made use of their skills and expertise while totally restricting their lives and stunting their advancement.

"One has only to read the Bill to recognise that the conditions applying to people doing this form of national service are conditions of bondage," Mr Swart said.

It was common cause that the solution to South Africa's security problems was 20 per-

cent military and 80 per cent political. An improvement in the quality of life of the masses would help to ensure their loyalty and they would feel less compelled to resort to violent action to improve their lot.

HOUSE of ASSEMBLY. — South Africa's enemy was ruthless communism and everybody should ensure that the country was defended against this, Mr Derick Watterson (NRP, Umbilo) said.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Defence Amendment Bill he said the national service which his party was prepared to accept was on good religious grounds.

"The verse in the Bible which says 'Thou shalt not kill', to my mind does not mean one must not defend one's country, home or family.

"Anybody who has endured war and what goes with it will hate war.

"I am a true pacifist as far as war is concerned but I will fight for my country and I expect anybody with red blood in his veins to do the same."

While the NRP accepted that there were people with genuine religious objections to serving in the defence force, it did not believe it was truly valid to use the scriptures to support this.

It would be difficult to establish the bona fides of objectors on grounds of morality or ethics.

"If we allow this I believe we will open a terrible can of worms."

Mr Watterson said that anyone applying for religious objector status should be represented by his church minister on the objection board considering his case.

Mr Gert Terblanche (NP, Bloemfontein North) said the individual was part of the community and enjoyed society's protection. He should therefore make his contribution to the defence of his country.

Mr Terblanche asked whether the official opposition was in agreement that the Bill meant "slavery" for objectors, as claimed earlier in the debate by the PFP's defence spokesman, Mr Philip Myburgh.

People who refused to contribute to the country's defence did a disservice to the community and perpetrated a sin against the State which could not be tolerated.

"It is sanctimonious to try and project South Africa as an unjust society."

There were people in the official opposition who encouraged those who were trying to demotivate people from serving in the defence force and this had a bad effect on the force, Mr Terblanche said. — Sapa.

What of Moral Beliefs?—PFP

THE principle that conscience could exempt certain people from serving in a combatant military capacity should be extended to include not only religious but also moral and ethical beliefs, Major Reuben Sive (PFP, Bezuidenhout) said.

Speaking during the debate on the second reading of the Defence Amendment Bill, Maj Sive said the Protestant faith accepted conscience based on moral and ethical beliefs was valid in a person who did not belong to an established religion.

At stake in the Bill before the House was the stipulation that the conscience of a religious objector was superior and a stronger qualification for exemption from combatant service than the equally recalcitrant conscience of a free thinker.

"What right have members of this House, whose ancestors fought for freedom of belief or religious freedom, to try to ordain by the laws of this land that their ethical and moral beliefs are superior because they are based on organised religion?" Maj Sive asked.

Maj Sive said he believed it could safely be left to a judge and assessors to sort out the genuine objector and the imposter.

It would not take long for the rulings of such a tribunal to make themselves manifest so that only genuine conscientious objectors would be allowed to do alternative community service and to contribute to the development of their country, instead of languishing in detention barracks.

He appealed to the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to send the Bill to a select committee before its second reading.

He appealed to the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, to send the Bill to a select committee before its second reading.

SUPPORT FOR SA GROWING IN NETHERLANDS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Mar 83 p 15

[Text] SUPPORT for South Africa is mushrooming in the two main Dutch Reformed Churches in Holland — long virulently anti-South African and openly in support of "liberation" movements in Southern Africa.

Feedback information from top level sources in the churches in Holland reaching The Citizen indicates that a powerful move towards understanding and sympathy of South Africa is building up in the churches.

This is seen as part of a spinoff of a backlash movement in the Netherlands itself, against the permissiveness which has marked Dutch society for several decades past.

Dutch sources say it is also linked with the realisation by thinking Dutch of some of South Africa's problems against the background of an escalating race conflict in Holland itself.

Top-level Dutch police sources are committed particularly to fighting drugs at all levels, following the appointment of a new police chief.

This is a pendulum swingback from the open

official support given to drug abuse for a considerable time past.

At church level — in the Gereformeerde and Hervormde churches — grassroot members are kicking increasingly against donations made to the SA Council of Churches.

This found expression as far back as 1975 in the formation of the "stichting Teen Kerkgeld voor Geweld" (Foundation Against Church Money for Violence) — a body which had limped along until the overall conservative backlash started in Holland.

The Stichting was formed because of opposition eight years ago to the giving by the Reformed churches of funds to so-called "freedom movements" in Southern Africa.

Members objected to their contributions to the churches being channelled towards terrorism and made them instead to the Stichting.

A spokesman for the Stichting in South Africa said in an interview that many congregations were still unhappy about the destination of their church contributions.

She said yesterday that a newsletter from the Stichting kept many thousands of Dutch people in different parts of the world informed on the progress being made by the body.

Called "Schenkt Klare Wyn" (a Dutch expression which means "be honest", the newsletter pulls no punches in its fight against the ecumenical movement and in campaigning for a return to traditional Calvinism.

Last year Mr Kees Knibbe, chairman of the Stichting, visited South Africa and concentrated on establishing contact with Black religious movements and Christians who are opposed to the World and SA Council of Churches.

Practical expression of the support of the Dutch religious conservatives was made last week when the Stichting presented a minibus to the Black Reformed Independent Churches Association.

According to church sources, the Association represents by far the biggest single force of Black Christians in South Africa.

The Association was formed a few years ago when its leader, Bishop Isaac Mokoena, led a breakaway movement from the SA Council of Churches.

FIRMING OF RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN TRACED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 13 Mar 83 p 27

[Report from Taiwan by Tertius Myburg: "South Africa's Lamp in Asia"]

[Text]

HOW did Taiwan, custodian of the most ancient coherent culture on earth, and South Africa, a relative Johnny-come-lately located at the opposite extremity of the planet, end up at the altar together?

The course of this somewhat improbable alliance is not easy to map from its beginnings in the early Seventies, until which time the Mysterious East was, for most South Africans, just that, mysterious.

But its roots probably lie in a fortuitous coincidence of commercial, military and political interests.

One thing, however, is clear: The Republic of China (Taiwan) now provides Pretoria with an invaluable bridgehead in East Asia, home to a third of mankind and the surging economic giant of our age.

So no smart-Aleck cracks, please, about "alliances of pariah states". Adversity may well have thrown us together, but the value of South Africa's one, formal Asian friendship (our presence in Tokyo and Hong Kong is only consular) is unquestionable.

Trade aside (and who would dare to lightly push aside two-way commerce which amounted to almost R700-million in 1981?), the Taipei connection provides us with a crucially important listening post in a region which in this century may yet dominate inter-

national politics as much as it now dominates international trade and in which, spawned as we were in the West, South African diplomacy remains a neophyte.

The reverse, of course, is equally true. Foreign policy is a hard-headed, some would say cynical, business which functions solely on a basis of self interest. And Taiwan, like ourselves economically successful but isolated internationally, obtains similar benefits from its Pretoria connection.

Like the balance of trade, the balance of political benefit is about even for the two countries.

For the South African visitor, there is instant identification with Taiwan's most pressing foreign policy issues, so many of which closely resemble our own.

A victim of international double standards, it is diplomatically isolated and has formal relations with only 23 countries — yet 35 others, not the least of them America, wink at Taiwan's "quasi-official" diplomatic presence in their capitals under the cover of trade or cultural missions. Seventeen reciprocate by running similar, tortuously unofficial operations of their own in Taipei.

Taiwan, too, is having trouble with its principal arms supplier, America, which holds back essential weaponry under pressure from Peking. (Unlike South Africa, Taiwan still has a foreign arms supplier, although, as in Pre-

toria, self-sufficiency has become a watchword).

And across the 100km of the Taiwan Straits — calculated in missile minutes, much nearer to Taipei than are say, Maputo or Harare to Pretoria — lurks the brooding, menacing mainland under hostile communist rule.

It is this latter, all-consuming issue — the conflict between the heirs to Mao's marxism and the heirs to Chiang Kai-shek's capitalistic Nationalists — that still dominates all Taiwan's affairs, domestic and foreign.

It is inescapable as a subject in any serious conversation in Taipei and it shapes all policy.

In its superficial essentials, the Republican argument goes thus: Mao and his communists were and are usurpers who hijacked Dr Sun Yat-Sen's revolution (of 1912, when he overthrew the corrupt and decadent warlords) for their marxist ends.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his two million or so Nationalists (whose own conduct on the mainland, let it be said, scarcely bore comparison with the driven snow) were obliged to flee to this island province in the China Sea (still officially known as the Republic of China in the province of Taiwan) whence they will sally forth to recover the mainland and restore to China all the richness and greatness of its 4000-year history.

Meanwhile — as the unshakably dedicated claimants to custody of China's true heritage — the 18-million Taiwanese will fortify their island redoubt to make it an unsinkable battleship on the side of the West, demonstrate by dint of unceasing labour and resourcefulness to the world and especially to their billion brethren on the mainland that the market economy rather than marxism is the true Chinese faith, and so reunite their people.

To truly understand this almost mystical commitment to a seemingly unattainable goal is like trying to solve one of those maddeningly complex Chinese puzzles which has lots of little ivory balls contained one within the other.

Most of all, it requires a grasp of that unique Asian gift for taking a long view of history, one that can transcend centuries.

Like the belief in "next year in Jerusalem" which gave courage through the centuries to the Jewish diaspora, Taiwan's Chinese simply refuse to accept that their nation will not one day be reunited.

"There is," said Professor King-Yuh Chang, the extraordinarily articulate director of the Institute of International Relations in Taipei, "only one idea we agree upon on both sides of the Straits of Taiwan: it is the concept of One China."

"The problem is that the communists believe they represent the real China, while we believe that we do."

And as one penetrates to the next layer of the puzzle, one discovers that the rigid, seemingly set-in-concrete stand-off between Taiwan and the mainland which Taipei projects to the world may no longer be quite as intractable as it once was.

For one thing, President Jimmy Carter's normalisation of relations with Peking in 1978 laid the basis for new ties between Peking and Washington, ending decades of hostility.

As Fox Butterfield, first New York Times correspondent in Peking and author of one of the best of a spate of recent books about

China, summarises it, the normalisation process of the Seventies worked only because of a brilliant tactical agreement by both Peking and Washington to set aside the Taiwan problem, still a highly emotional issue in the West as much as the East.

Washington acceded to Peking's position by recognising that there is only one China and that Taiwan is part of it; but at the same time America reserved the right to "maintain cultural, commercial and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan"

and would continue to sell defensive weapons to Taipei.

Parallel with this, Peking modified its belligerent stance towards the Nationalists, stopped talking about liberating Taiwan, and instead offered a number of conciliatory proposals that would lead to gradual reunification, theoretically allowing Taiwan to keep its own capitalist economy, its political system and even its army.

On Taiwan itself, where mistrust of Peking's duplicity and hatred of communists is deep-seated and ineradicable, the mainland's overtures have been met with understandable suspicion and rejected.

Yet in Taipei, where an impressive new generation of highly sophisticated, technocratic leaders is gradually taking over command from the generally geriatric men who founded the government-in-island-exile, there is a subtle grasp of the fact that while rejection of Peking's siren call may be justified and politic for the time being, a new phase could well be starting in relations across those 100km of sea.

For on the mainland, too, a new generation of more realistic leaders headed by Deng Shao-Ping is having to grapple with the catastrophic mess left behind by the late and unlamented megalomaniac Mao.

The most awesome of Deng's problems, as Murray Sayle pointed out in a recent Spectator article, is the fact that, in only 33 years, China's population doubled to an unbelievable figure of more than one billion, 550-million under

the age of 21. Of these, 800-million are farmers condemned to scratch a living from inefficient communal farms.

All, farmer and city dweller alike, are regulated by a barbarous system of influx control which regulates all human movement.

This immense, gifted mass of humanity, dazed and demoralised by madresses such as the Cultural Revolution which virtually destroyed an entire generation of educated people, has, according to authoritative accounts, become utterly disillusioned with communism, having seen and suffered the failures of Great Helmsman Mao.

Deng, consequently, seems cautiously to be encouraging some kind of organic reform. Mainland China remains a communist-run, centrally planned and bureaucratically over-burdened state. But there are also hints of subtle experimentation with free enterprise in Deng's much advertised "four modernisations" programme and when Hong Kong reverts to Peking's proprietorship in 1997 the capitalist infection is bound to spread.

For one thing, the amazing mercantile instinct of the Chinese people cannot forever be repressed, no matter how totalitarian the government. This, combined with the sheer need to employ and to feed such mega-numbers of people, must force some kind of change upon Peking.

If then, Chinese-style, we take a long view of history, can it be entirely beyond the realms of possibility that divisions between mainland and island province could ultimately soften to a point where cultural like again seeks like?

As Sayle observes, a quarter of the human race is Han Chinese: this single group, with a common script and culture and closely related languages, are more numerous than all the Russians, Americans and Europeans put together.

They are the bearers of the world's oldest, richest continuously existing civilisation. The sheer weight of history, never mind numbers, suggests that somehow,

sometime they will practice that civilisation together

According to an old Chinese proverb, there can be no two suns under heaven and no two kings inside the kingdom.

My own guess is that Milton Friedman, and not Mao, will provide the thought that shapes the future — and Taiwan today provides the model.

It offers a miraculous, perhaps unique example of a developing country which put Western aid to excellent use and clawed itself into the middle-to-top rank of productive nations.

At this very moment it is consolidating its industrial and educational base and priming the after-burners to take the next step up towards a Japanese-style, high-tech economy.

If one defines a democracy according to the ability of voters to dislodge a government in regularly scheduled election, Taiwan falls somewhat short; control in Taipei is still firmly in the hands of the Kuomintang of Chiang Kai-shek and various devices ensure that it will remain that way in the foreseeable future. Its press is pliant, but generally voluntarily so.

But, unquestionably, Taiwan's is a modernising oligarchy and, given the unique, instinctive inclination towards discipline peculiar to East Asian culture (something not easily understood by Westerners who have adopted a more boi-

ous Westminster or Washington as their model), it is a free society.

Its people are urbane, hugely industrious, frugal and concerned with puritan values of family and toil in a way which we in the West have scarcely known in this generation. In 33 years there has never been an industrial strike in Taiwan.

Daily in Taiwan — as in Hong Kong, Singapore or Tokyo, where the market is permitted to work its wonders — capitalism is demonstrating its superiority over the stultifying, centrally planned disaster on the mainland.

If prosperity, like truth, will out, this observer has no doubt that the Taiwanese way will be the one which provides the basis for Chinese reunification.

Meanwhile, in faraway South Africa, we should value and nurture our mutually beneficial alliance with that, for most of our citizens, very foreign society.

And we should use this precious vantage point to observe the great, historic political currents in the whole Western Pacific region in order to ensure that we are in a position to identify and ride with the favourable tides as they emerge.

And emerge they will, as surely as the sun rises in the East — and sets in the West.

China Notebook

☐ IT is amazing that Pretoria should maintain intimate ties with Taipei — and yet permit South Africa's 10 000 or so Chinese population to lead an uneasy life stretched between the strictures of apartheid and the indulgence of officialdom.

Defined as "Asiatics" under the Population Registration Act, they have always been on the wrong side of the apartheid fence, theoretically requiring exemption under the Group Areas Act as well as the consent of neighbours to buy a house in a white area.

In practice, though, apartheid has not been rigidly applied and South Africa's gentle, hard-working Chinese live and trade in

white areas, there are a number of mixed marriages and schools and theatres are generally open to them.

A Government engaged in constitutional reform should put an end to this precarious, thoroughly unsatisfactory situation by giving the Chinese full and unqualified citizenship.

☐ SOUTH Africans are woefully ill-prepared to analyse, much less exploit, developments in East Asia.

Chinese history is poorly taught, if at all, in our schools and (unless there is an obscure professor tucked away in some unknown corner of academe) our universities do not offer specialist

studies in the affairs of the region.

There is a crying need for an institute (or two) of Asian studies so that South Africa can build up a corps of scholars, diplomats and businessmen-analysts who have the skills to operate effectively in that region.

East Asia is crawling with skilled Americans, Frenchmen and Brits taking advantage of every opportunity, economic or political.

Why so few South Africans?

☐ LEISURE-obsessed South Africans would be wise to note that the single most important reason for the barrelling prosperity of East Asia is the survival in those parts of that most precious of attributes, the work ethic.

In Taiwan's public service, for example, employees have no annual leave during their first three years. After that they get one week a year and two weeks vacation after 10 years of service. Now try THAT out in Pretoria!

☐ DOES South Africa have its own "China card" to play?

That is, should we resist identifying too closely with Taiwan's fiercely anti-communist stance in order to keep open back doors through which we may one day be able to exploit opportunities on the mainland?

Possibly as a reaction to some of the simplistic, primitivist reporting which passes for serious analysis of Chinese affairs in some right-wing quarters in this country, some South African observers

suggest that our foreign policy-makers should display greater subtlety in our approach to mainland China.

Obviously we should place ourselves in a position to take advantage of every opportunity that presents itself in the region, but then so does Taiwan, which has a growing community of young foreign policy makers as sophisticated as any this reporter has encountered anywhere.

We could do worse than follow their lead.

☐ FOR those who still doubt the importance of the Western Pacific Basin in South Africa's mercantile future, think on this fact:

Last year US trade with Asia was bigger than its trade with all of Europe!

Premier Has a Soft Spot for SA

THE Prime Minister of the Republic of China is a tall, engaging man with an easy air of authority and warm recollections of an official visit to South Africa in March 1966.

In the elegant reception room of the executive building in Taipei, Premier Sun Yun-sun told the Sunday Times:

"I have a soft spot in my heart for South Africa.

"You are an old-fashioned people like us: you work hard and you keep your word."

He talked of his high regard for his South African counterpart, Mr P W Botha (who visited Taiwan in 1966), and of his admiration for the determined way in which Mr Botha approached his task.

"He has his problems — but we also have ours," said Mr Sun.

He foresaw even faster developing trade between the two countries and spoke of his hopes for ROC investment in heavy industrial development, especially also

have the same critics, especially in the Third World."

He believed that a combination of factors — especially a tendency towards greater realism in their approach to world affairs by Western countries and the self-evident failure of communism — was causing a thaw in the way many governments, especially in Europe, viewed the ROC.

Meanwhile — and here one encounters that cool, serene confidence in a free economy which permeates every aspect of life in Taiwan — his country would show the world what it could do.

Mr Sun — tipped to succeed the ailing, 72-year-old President Chiang Ching-kuo (son of the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek) — seemed to have absolute faith that simply by pitting system against system, capitalism would ultimately triumph.

☛ The Chinese of Taiwan would beat the dispirited communists of the mainland simply by being better.

In reply to questions from the Sunday Times, Mr Sun replied as follows:

On recent contacts be-

tween Moscow and Peking.

Both the Soviets and the US want to woo the Chinese communist regime for their respective interests ... but we must understand that the Chinese communists are also trying to take advantage of the opportunities and contradictions to seek profit from both sides. They sit back to watch the two tigers fighting.

On the extended visit to Africa last year by Peking's Premier Zhao Ziyang:

As mainland China cannot take care of itself, no-one will believe that it can provide sufficient economic and technical aid to satisfy the requirements of African nations.

The Chinese communists have never failed to capitalise on discontent in Africa in order to incite turmoil. Peace-loving African nations should bear this in mind.

Did the fact of Taiwan being seen in South Africa's company create difficulties for the ROC internationally?

"No," said Mr Sun. "We have similar international difficulties and we tend to minimise production, in South Africa.

However, trade with South Africa, as with all countries, had lately suffered because of the worldwide economic slowdown.

CISKEI DETENTIONS FAIL TO SLOW DOWN SAAWU

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 28 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Mono Badela: "SAAWU Storm Ahead at Full Steam"]

[Text] **THE FAST-GROWING non-racial South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu) would weather the storm of recent detentions of its leadership and would certainly maintain its growth as in the past, labour experts and trade unionists believe.**

Last week's swoop and the subsequent detention of several trade unionists by the Ciskei Security Police, including top leaders of Saawu, the president Thozamile Gqweta and his deputy Sisa Njikelana, has evoked a big outcry and continues to receive widespread condemnation. The Ciskei Government action has been strongly condemned by many progressive bodies including trade unions and community bodies.

The national organiser of Saawu, Mr Herbert Barnabas, told The SOWETAN: "Detaining our leaders will not result in Saawu tumbling down. The worker organisation which today has more than 100 000 members is powerful enough to withstand the new wave of attacks. Lennox Sebe is a power monger and quite

clearly sees Saawu as the biggest threat to the very existence of his pseudo government. With him operating in the border region of South Africa, we strongly feel the chances of the freedom of association existing there is minimal."

His comments were echoed by a labour expert operating in the Eastern Cape, who firmly believes that Saawu will weather the storm of recent attacks on its leadership. In an interview he said ever since Saawu was founded in 1979, the South African and Ciskeian authorities had attempted to crush the organisation. He said the recent detentions of its leaders was the latest of many similar attempts to silence and intimidate both its leadership and the general membership into submission.

"While leaders have been repeatedly detained, workers in the

organisation have been victimized in the factories with few exceptions," he said. "Despite the onslaught, Saawu has not moved from its intention to satisfy the daily needs of its members. On the contrary the union has doubled its efforts to legally function as a trade union under very difficult circumstances."

He said even under the present conditions Saawu had managed to obtain at least five recognition agreements with companies in East London. "In the past Saawu has managed to weather the storm of attacks against it. There appears to be no reason why it will not survive the most recent."

The reason he gave for the continued harassment by the Ciskei Government on the union, was that Chief Lennox Sebe and his brother, General Charles Sebe, "clearly see Saawu as a threat to their government, because Saawu expresses the legitimate needs and broad aspirations of the people in East London and Mdantsane".

To substantiate his claim, Mr Barnabas said the structure of Saawu differed from that of other unions. "We believe in worker democracy and mass participation. Our structure is such that workers themselves are in a position to perform the duties of senior officials. Our branch organisers from the factory floor level are the people who are negotiating with management. So it does not mean that their job is only to organise more members," he said.

He said Saawu intended to organise even in King Williams' Town and Queenstown — to give the Ciskei Government more overtime work. "We intend sending more organisers to the area, not from East London now but from our other branches in South Africa.

"The Sebe Government must do more work because the offices from which we operate are not in the Ciskei but in South Africa. Our task therefore is to train more manpower in South Africa. We feel Sebe must ask for permission from the central Government to have all the workers in East London factories organised by Saawu detained."

Co-operation between South African and Ciskeian security police against Saawu has been openly stated by General Charles Sebe. A few days after the detention of 205 trade unionists in September 1981, he was reported to

have boasted that a team of six specially selected men from both the South African Security Branch and the Ciskei Police were working hand in hand on investigations into the cases. Regional employers also co-operated with the police in repressing Saawu, it was claimed.

In addition to police baton-charges, the frequent detention of members and officials of the union, charges under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the direct intervention of General Sebe and the Ciskei Central Intelligence Service, a dossier written by the South African Security Police on how to break the power of Saawu and bring the worker organisation to its knees was circulated to companies in East London in the second half of 1980.

The document proposed long-term and short-term solutions on how to break the power of the union. The long-term plan would force black trade unions to register as industrial trade unions or to encourage the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) to become more active in the region. The short-term solution included a strike-breaking strategy of encouraging firms to keep records of unemployed workers with whom they could immediately replace striking workers.

This would help employers not to give in to the pressure from workers if they demanded that Saawu be recognised as

a union. However, the most remarkable aspect of the onslaught against Saawu is that it has thus far survived.

Those officials still remaining firmly believe that the union will withstand the new wave of attacks.

More than 20 000 of the union's 100 000 membership live in East London and Mdantsane. The organisation's leaders have displayed a remarkable resilience and commitment to their members. In fact detentions seem to make them more resolute to carry on.

Mr Njikelana once remarked soon after his release from his fourth detention that "we have a duty to our members not to let things like this interfere with our work".

Saawu appears to have a fair depth of leadership and organisational ability. It therefore appears that continued detention of leaders had not stopped union organisation from carrying on although it has been severely disrupted.

Another official of Saawu, Mr Thozamile Maneli, last year told a Pebo meeting in Port Elizabeth that Saawu had been forced into organising in a way that shared responsibility more widely.

Some employers had broken ranks by recognising Saawu, thereby undermining the attempted strategy of other employers and the Security Police.

A split in the Black Allied Workers Union (Bawu) in 1979 at a conference in Durban saw

the birth of Saawu. The split was caused by ideological differences between those who wanted to follow the Black Consciousness policy and the group led by Thozamile Gqweta, a proponent of the nonracial ideology.

Although Saawu is a trade union, it is also considered to be tied to the community. Those interviewed all linked it with the community.

Mr Maneli said: "Saawu is a trade union dealing with workers who are part and parcel of the community. Transport and rent are also worker issues. The problems of the workplace go outside the workplace. If you are underpaid it goes back to your home or the community."

Saawu takes up a position on political matters more overtly and explicitly than most trade unions. At its third annual congress in Durban in May 1981, it called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, saying he was a national leader who could save South Africa from self-destruction.

The call was in line with Saawu's declared policy of linking workers with the wider political struggle. The congress also strongly rejected the bantustan system and local, government-created bodies such as the community councils.

WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION IN BUSINESS ALLEGED

Etheredge Claim

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mark Gordon]

[Text] **WIDESPREAD corruption of one sort or another is rampant in business and public administration in South Africa, according to a top Anglo American Corporation director.**

"This has been confirmed by chief executives on the one hand, and clerks and junior officials on the other," Mr Dennis Etheredge, chairman of Anglo American's gold and uranium division, said at a conference of the Institute of Internal Auditors in Sandton yesterday.

"Sector after sector of our society has had the finger pointed at it by someone who knows his facts. Not all the accusations have suffered from vagueness which often characterises this sort of problem — a number have been pretty specific and detailed."

It was Mr Etheredge, in his capacity as the president of the South African Institute of Management, who first pointed out four

months ago that business and public administration in the country was shot through with dishonesty.

However, corruption was even more widespread than he realised when he made the speech back in November, he said.

"Corruption of one sort or another is indeed widespread in the public service, para-statal organisations, boards, local authorities and in business, much more so than I realised."

Clear

He said it was abundantly clear, that a great many of the actions which resulted in personal gain at the expense of the institution, were based on collusion between an employee of the institution and someone on the outside.

"Between them they collude to rob the institution by falsifying the financial arrangements be-

tween the two bodies they represent . . . with a very good chance of their collusion not being detected."

He welcomed the fact that a "comforting number" of cases of corruption, graft and mismanagement of funds were finding their way into the courts; not, as has been the practice in the past, of the company quietly firing the employee who was caught. Though this still did occur in a great many places.

Fear

One of the causes in the lack of prosecution in malpractice suits was that the person who knew of a particular instance of corruption among his colleagues would not make a statement for fear of the embarrassment and "perhaps victimisation which will follow".

Another aspect that caused people to hold

back in bringing corruption to the fore was that some innocent people could have to suffer and be kept under suspicion because of some unfounded accusations.

Mr Etheredge put forward some suggestions on what could be done to reduce the incidence of corrupt practices.

Under the heading "Legislation", he stated firstly, that not all problems were solved by legislation.

Important

However, he looked at the important impact in the United States of the 1978 Foreign Corrupt Practices Act which came into being to deal with questionable corporate payments to foreign officials and businessmen.

"Naturally, the Act was not well received . . . but it has led to substantial changes in company behaviour and practices, and has reinforced the system of audit committees of the Board of Directors."

Under his second heading, "Behaviour" he stated: "The need to change the attitude in our society towards corrupt practices, big and small, especially among those in positions of responsibility."

"Some businesses do not spell out clearly enough what they accept as legitimate behaviour and what is not."

One organisation, Assocon, helped member firms in November last year with an issue of guidelines to legitimate behaviour.

Applauded

Under the heading "Education", Mr Etheredge applauded the fact that some graduate

schools of business were discussing the inclusion of a course in business ethics.

"I believe that there must be room to prepare the potential senior manager and chief executive for the fact that we are not a society of saints," he said.

On "Audit", he felt the audit process provided the best means of dealing with corrupt practices.

"Particularly the internal audit, in terms of the identifier of problems, the tester of systems and the evaluator of internal controls."

Mr Etheredge mentioned a few possibilities and combinations which could be considered in exposing corruption in business and public administration.

"Hotlines, ombudsmen, internal audit, education, legislation — so many possibilities and combinations, good and bad, but what is abundantly clear is that something must be done," he said.

Specific Information Lacked

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jaap Theron]

[Text] CAPE TOWN. — Mr Dennis Etheredge, chairman of Anglo American's gold and uranium division, admitted in a telex message to the Prime Minister yesterday that he had no specific information about corruption to hand to the police, the Advocate-General or the relevant Minister.

Mr Etheredge made this statement after he was challenged by the Prime Minister to reveal his information about corruption in the public sector to the official investigating authorities.

In his telex to the Prime Minister, which was published by the Prime Minister's Office with Mr Etheredge's permission, Mr Etheredge said:

Response

"I feel I should respond quickly to the statement you made yesterday in regard to my speech on corruption.

"I made clear in that speech that the responses I have received to my first reference to this matter last November conveyed to me the general message the corruption was widespread not only in business but in the Public Services.

"Those responses were in the form of unsolicited letters, phone calls and personal contacts, some open, some anonymous.

"As I had no desire to set myself up as an

ombudsman, I did not follow up on the allegations other than one or two which affected the companies with which I am involved and I have in fact destroyed all the papers.

Reliable

"I can say, however, that many of the more specific allegations came from people who are usually reliable and I must ask you to accept my own integrity in that I would not refer to these publicly unless I had reason to feel that they added up to something which needed further investigation.

"I feel I have done what it was incumbent on

me to do and that those more directly involved should now look into their own organisations as I have done where companies with which I was concerned have been aluded to.

Good look

"In fact, in my speech after commenting on the fact that the private sector was taking various steps to deal with corrupt practices, I put the matter this way:

"It is not unreasonable therefore to suggest that the Civil Service, parastatal bodies, control boards and local authorities should have a good look at themselves, taking account of widespread allegations of mishandling of funds in a variety of ways."

"I sent a copy of the speech to Minister De Klerk, as the Minister responsible for the Civil Service, on Friday March 18, as soon as it was finalised.

"I had a telephone con-

versation yesterday with the Judge-Advocate General and my impression is that he accepted the explanation of my actions as referred to above. We have agreed to meet to discuss the matter generally when he is able to do so.

"I have had further approaches since the speech last Tuesday but none of these has dealt with the Public Services.

Clear

"I am now making it quite clear to all callers that I am not prepared to listen to them unless they agree to put the facts on paper and, if necessary, to make affidavits to the police or other authorities.

"I would say finally, sir, that this is a very difficult matter which has decent people disturbed and I have felt it my duty to make a public statement even though I am not in a position to pass specific information to the persons you mentioned in your statement."

Yours sincerely, Dennis Etheredge.

GUIDE TO 'NEW DEAL' PUBLISHED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Mar 83 p 4

[Text]

MORE than half-a-million Afrikaans and English copies of the pamphlet entitled "Guidelines for a new constitutional dispensation: an opportunity for participation" have been published, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Information, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday.

He was replying in writing to a question from Mr Jan van Zyl (CP Sunnyside).

Figures supplied by Mr Botha showed that 250 000 English and 300 000 Afrikaans copies of the pamphlet had been published.

The department's regional offices had distributed 25 000 copies in the Transvaal, 9 600 in the Free State, 36 000 in the Cape and 18 800 in Natal.

Equal numbers (208 000) each of English and Afrikaans copies had been distributed country-wide by agents.

A considerable number had also been supplied by the head office on request to organisations, associations and the general public, as well as to other State departments, Mr Botha said.

Replying to another part of Mr Van Zyl's question, he said no copies of the pamphlet had been distributed abroad.

"Only the brochure: 'Constitutional guidelines: a new dispensation for Whites, Coloureds and Indians' was distributed abroad".

Answering a part of Mr Van Zyl's question, Mr Botha referred to a government circular signed by the former Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, in December 1973.

The circular said it was the responsibility of his (Mr Botha's) department "to convey in all possible manners previously announced Government policy, as well as relevant facts concerning the population groups of the Republic and SWA to the people of other countries and in particular to opinion formers and decision-makers in all fields".

Mr Botha said copies of the pamphlet concerned had not been published in other languages or sent to offices of political parties.

Due to pressure on budgetary priorities "attention can only be given on the above mentioned modest scale to the distribution of information on such an important matter as constitutional reform".

Mr Botha said that in May 1980, Mr Van Zyl (still a member of the National Party at that time) had himself "justifiably pleaded" during a speech in Parliament that more money be spent on internal information.

He quoted Mr Van Zyl as saying: "There must be far more propaganda among the Whites, Coloureds, Indians and the various Black groups, not in a negative sense, but in the sense that information must be conveyed to them and South Africa's unblemished image must be presented to them". — Sapa.

DETAILS OF PC'S DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS REPORT GIVEN

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 24 Mar 83 pp 12-13

[Text] CAPE TOWN.—Awesome consequences face South Africa and all her people if current population growth trends continue, says the science committee of the President's Council.

In a report released in Cape Town yesterday, entitled Demographic Trends in South Africa, the committee says it is clear that a national programme of action, supported by all, is an urgent necessity.

"There are symptoms pointing to the fact that already at this stage the country no longer has the capacity to cope satisfactorily with the current growth in population."

In its conclusion, the report says a growing realisation of the extent and gravity of the problem serves as an incentive to identify the elements in question in demographic growth and to indicate guidelines for possible solutions.

Urgent

"This report is, therefore, presented for the urgent attention of all political, cultural and community leaders, in the hope that they will seriously consider the population growth trends as

analysed and the finality which emerges from the implications as described."

The chairman of the science committee, Professor E J Marais, said it had been concluded that

the maximum population SA would be able to cope with was 80 million people.

"A vigorously applied population programme should aim at reducing fertility to replacement level by the year 2020, which is only 37 years away, so that the ultimate population will taper off at 80 million," he said.

Prof Marais said that, for the purposes of the committee's investigation and recommendations, the population of South Africa, the homelands

and the national independent states had been taken into account.

Sensitivity

Asked about the political "sensitivity and potential explosiveness" of some of the report's findings and recommendations, he said: "We must do our utmost to keep politics out of this."

He emphasised that the committee had "honestly done its utmost to make the report as objective and apolitical as possible," presenting the facts as scientifically as it could.

"We can only make recommendations but I hope and pray that we can project with the necessary force that this is a scientific document, and that it should be treated as such.

"Whether this is possible in such a politicised country as South Africa, I cannot say," Prof Marais said.

In the report's introduction, the committee says it believes "leaders in general, and particularly those in communities with a high population increase, are not sufficiently aware of the misery in store for their communities should present growth trends continue.

"In this field the great task that lies ahead is that of making people aware of a problem which seems to be drawing nearer gradually, but which may overtake the country at a stage when it will be too late to take the necessary measures to counter the

problem.

Hardest

"The communities with a high population increase will be hit first and hardest.

"Indeed, there is every indication that this is already happening."

The report emphasises the vital role an "imaginative education programme" can play in the urgently needed population programme.

"South Africa has less than four decades in which, with the aid of an imaginative programme of education as one of the main components of a population programme, to make a breakthrough as regards fertility decline.

"If this does not happen, growing numbers may render subsequent action futile." — Sapa.

Black Birthrate is Snowballing

THE WHITE population of South Africa is rapidly approaching zero population growth while the Black population is still in the transitional, or "explosive" stage, according to the President's Council's Science Committee report.

The report says the Coloured and Asian populations are entering the modern stage, where fertility is declining to the level it was at before the transitional stage, of a sudden growth in population, was reached.

The urbanisation of Blacks, which was only about 38 percent in 1980, would prove to be the source of the main population problem in the next century.

Compared to only eight million in 1980, the number of urban Blacks could increase to between roughly 57 million and 96 million by the year 2050, depending upon the success of a national population programme.

The report says it is almost impossible to make forecasts regarding population growth trends and size over a period of a decade or more with any

newspaper editors have warned against trends to limit Press freedom in the country, as a public opinion poll indicated that a based are virtually unpredictable.

"Population projections can, however, be made, not to forecast population numbers, but to illustrate the effects of various vital demographic trends on population growth."

The intrinsic growth rate of the White population was already negative, with every 1 000 White women giving birth to only 963 girls (who would grow old enough to reproduce) in 1980.

In contrast with this, every 1 000 Asian women gave birth to 1 278 such girls in 1980, and Coloured women to 1 427.

"It is estimated that every 1 000 Black women give birth to about 2 500 girls who will reach the productive age.

"The non-Black population may increase to about 15 million by the middle of the next century, thereafter growing only slowly.

"As regards the Black population, however, there is great uncertainty about future growth trends.

"By the middle of the 22nd century it may have increased to anything between about 70 and 190 million.

Training for all Groups Called For

HEALTH services should be decentralised in such a way that the masses can be effectively reached, the President's Council's Science Committee report recommends.

The report says this should be done in contrast to the present hospital or clinic-centred approach.

It also recommends that "priority consideration be given to the recruitment and training of staff, focused on the objectives of a population programme so as to satisfy future demands and ease current shortages.

"Consideration should be given to the recruitment of candidates from all population groups for training for this purpose."

The report recommends further "that co-ordination be established between education and health authorities to satisfy the needs with regard to communication, information and guidance with a view to health advice, the combating of preventable child deaths, family planning, etc." — Sapa.

Housing Can't Cope With the Present Birth Rate

IF CURRENT demographic trends continue the provision of housing will be beyond the capacity of the economy and the State, the President's Council's Science Committee report.

The report says that suitable housing is an important element of an improved standard of living, and that the quality of life has an important effect on demographic trends.

"Suitable housing, particularly home-ownership, contributes significantly to the social status of the occupant.

"This is a factor which contributes significantly to the lowering of fertility, particularly as far as the woman in the home is concerned."

The committee "gained the firm impression that the provision of sufficient suitable housing can make a very important contribution towards achieving the objectives of the envisaged population programme."

It has recommended that "in planning for the

provision of housing, the objectives of population planning be taken into account continuously and that co-ordination be established with the authorities that will be responsible for maintaining the programme."

With regard to the provision of housing, the report says the private sector and the private individual "will increasingly have to provide housing.

"The committee does not consider itself competent to express opinions on standards in the provision of housing, but holds the view that having more houses, even at lower building standards for the purposes of a population programme, is more important than having fewer houses of a higher standard."

It recommends that "as a matter of urgency, building standards for economic housing for low-income groups be reconsidered to contribute towards the possibility of significantly exposing

more people to the envisaged population programme."

In a supplementary recommendation with regard to squatters, the report says that "if provision for housing in controlled squatter areas is contemplated, such provision be made in accordance with minimum standards and on a temporary basis to at least help create a climate for reaching these people with a view to population planning." — Sapa.

Whites Can't Fill Need for Manpower

THE White population group will not be able to meet the country's increased high-level manpower requirements in the future, according to the President's Council's science committee report.

The report says that "the skills distribution in the labour force of South Africa highlights a severe handicap to future economic growth.

"The White population group, the traditional source of high-level manpower, grows at a much lower rate than the other population groups, and would, therefore, not be able to meet increased manpower requirements in the future."

The report says that about 85 percent of the labour force depends for employment opportunities on the remaining 15 percent, the latter group comprising mainly Whites.

"The shortage of skills in the lower ranks of the labour force and of prospective new entrants tends to aggravate the employment problem, and an expansion of the current training programme is indicated.

"Upward mobility of workers in the lower ranks through education, training and motivation could significantly alleviate future pressure on the skilled and semi-skilled components of the labour force."

The report says reinforcement of the high-level manpower component by upward mobility will take time.

"As an interim measure, the import of skills by immigration is indicated."

An estimated 292 000 new entrants to the labour market will line up for employment every year during the period 1981-1985.

"Generating employment for this number of new workers is clearly outside the capacity of the economy, even at a sustained average growth rate of 4,5 percent."

For the period 2015-2020, the report estimates that new entrants to the labour force will number between 573 000 and 345 000 a year, depending on the effectiveness of the population programme recommended by the committee.

"The implications are clear; no country has the kind of investment capital to generate new jobs at such a rapid rate."

This is especially so when faced with "such awesome targets" for the adequate provision of education, health, housing, and other demographic issues.

Such "demographic investments" decrease the amount of capital available for "economic investments" which are so vital to the creation of new jobs and the raising of living standards, the report says. — Sapa.

Family Study Congress Called For

CAPE TOWN. — The implementation of a population programme should be regarded as the highest priority in South Africa's national economy, according to the President's Council's Science Committee report on demographic trends.

The report recommends that "the implementation strategy for a population programme be launched by means of a national awareness action in the form of a national

congress with the family as its theme".

An underlying principle is that the State is considered responsible for the programme, but would co-operate with and give financial support to other authorities and private institutions concerned with the promotion of family planning and community development.

Child Health the Main Aim

FAMILY planning is a means to an end and far more than a programme for persuading parents to use contraceptive methods — a mistaken notion often encountered — says the President's Council Science Committee report.

The report says the

promotion of child health is first and foremost among the aims of family planning.

"Next, social upliftment should be promoted to help create a climate which can contribute to the lowering of fertility norms.

"As soon as fertility

norms drop, parents spontaneously adjust their number of children to circumstances in order to raise the family's standard of living.

"At that stage, the time is ripe for parents to be influenced to space or prevent birth by con-

traceptive methods," the report says.

One of the requisites for a family planning programme to succeed is making contraceptive methods freely available and decentralising the service to reach all families, "especially those in

remote rural areas".

The report recommends that "in the planning of the family planning service, provision be made for co-ordination of all bodies which can contribute to child health,

suitable information and guidance programmes, community development and the supply and distribution of contraceptives." — Sapa.

Effects on Economy 'Paralysing'

CAPE TOWN. — The current high population growth rate in South Africa would "undoubtedly have a paralysing effect" on the economy's capacity for growth, job creation and higher standards of living, according to the President's Council Science Committee report on demographic trends.

The report, released in Cape Town yesterday, says that even at an aver-

age growth rate of 4.5 percent as envisaged in the economic development programme for 1977/87, the economy could not satisfy the demands which would arise from a continuance of the current growth trends.

In fact, the effect of the population growth would be such that it would not even be possible to attain an economic growth rate of 4.5 percent unless foreign investment capital becomes available on a large scale.

"No economic or monetary measures can save the situation that will arise over the long term and the only solution is to introduce an effective population programme.

"The standards of living of the low-income groups can be significantly raised by reducing the average number of children per family, and it is clear that a population programme aimed at raising standards of living

ought to be strongly focused on fertility decline," the report says.

In this regard it has recommended that "priority be given to economic development programmes focused on the low-income groups in urban and particularly rural areas, and that the projects be focused strongly on fertility decline".

It has further recommended that "ways and means be found and resources be made available to extend and reinforce the current family planning programme, so that low-income groups in the under-developed communities can be reached".

Another recommendation is that "co-ordination be established between family planning authorities, education authorities and economic planners so as to promote judicious family spending".

— Sapa.

Appeal to Improve Standard of Living For All

THE Science Committee of the President's Council has recommended that consideration be given to the introduction of a national population programme to raise the standard of living and quality of life of all in South Africa.

In a report released in Cape Town yesterday, the committee also recommends that population growth be influenced by means of a population programme so that South Africa's population would stop growing by the end of the next century, stabilising at about 80 million.

For the goal to be achieved, the committee said, the following demographic and development objectives would have to be attained:

- The promotion of the socio-economic development of all the less developed groups in the population so that parity in levels of development is reached during the first half of the next century;
- The promotion of the health level of all population groups to such a degree that parity regarding the death rate be reached this century at the level prevailing in developed western countries;
- Changing the fertility of all groups in the population so that the replacement level of an average of two children per woman will be reached as soon as possible, but not later than the second decade of the next century;
- Regulation of future internal migration of all

population groups so that the optimum spatial distribution can be achieved which will satisfy the changing requirements of the times, with a view to promoting maximal socio-economic development and stability.

Asked at a Press conference to expand on the last recommendation, the chairman of the Science Committee, Professor E J Marais, said urbanisation was one of the best means of dealing with the problems involved in influencing population growth.

"This does not necessarily mean we are saying everybody should come to the cities.

"Circumstances should be created in the platteland where it will be easy for conglomerations of population to form and so make it easier to apply the instruments of a population programme," Prof Marais said.

A South African version of the kibbutz concept should be developed to get communities away from a subsistence economy and to "expose" them to alternate lifestyles and incentives to improve themselves, he said. — Sapa.

NEW RAIL PLAN FOR HOMELANDS REPORTED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Fred de Lange]

[Text] A MULTI-million rand plan to end the frustration of Black workers commuting between the homelands and Pretoria is on its way to becoming fact.

The South African Transport Services announced yesterday that two phases of the plan to provide a better train service between Mabopane and Pretoria will be finished by the end of June.

Phase one of the plan included constructing new lines between Winternest and Mabopane and between Hercules and Belle Ombre.

Two new stations had to be built for the project — one at Mabopane and Belle Ombre station near the centre of Pretoria.

The international border between Bophuthatswana and South Africa runs exactly through the middle of the new station at Mabopane. All facilities like police stations and toilets had to be doubled at the station.

According to a spokesman for the Sats, a special agreement had to be

reached between the two police forces to prevent criminals running over the border and thus preventing the police from doing anything against them. Police will be allowed to follow a suspect into the other country and apprehend him.

The cost of the railway station at Mabopane will be carried by both the Bophuthatswana Government and Sats.

Both the stations, at Belle Ombre and Mabopane, will have bus terminals designed in such a way that a commuter will be able to get off the bus, buy his ticket and get into a train without being exposed to the elements.

The second phase of the plan, to be completed by the end of June will be the complete remodelling of the Hercules station while the third phase, which will be completed by the end of May 1984, will be the remodelling of Pretoria North station.

The last phase of the plan is a double line between Pretoria and Golf and is expected to be finished by April 1984.

plan will eventually be R89-million. This figure does not include the cost of the bus stations at Belle Ombre and Mabopane which are respectively financed by the City Council of Pretoria and the Corporation for Economic Development.

The whole project for the restructuring of the transport services between the homelands and Pretoria originated in Parliament in 1973 when the Minister of Transport presented a report recommending the changes in the railway system to both Houses.

Construction started in March 1976 and in December 1981 a limited train service was introduced between Soshanguve and Pretoria.

Construction of the new line between Hercules and Belle Ombre was started in September 1979. The work included building eight bridges.

It is expected that between 110 000 and 120 000 passengers will be conveyed daily when the system is completed.

The total cost of the

CP'S RACIAL BODY CALL OPPOSED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 4

[Text] THE Progressive Federal Party yesterday appealed to the Minister of National Education Dr Gerrit Viljoen, to help promote unity between the different race groups by allowing people of all races to serve on regional councils for cultural affairs.

Speaking during the committee stage of the Culture Promotion Bill, Mr Horace van Rensburg (PFP Bryanston) said these councils, which in terms of the bill will preserve, develop, foster or extend cultural activities, should be administrative rather than separate racial bodies, as called for by Conservative Party speakers.

"The regional council is not created to look after and promote the interests of any particular type of cultural activity or any particular group participating," Mr Van Rensburg said. "Surely the Government wishes to promote culture for all its people without favour and without discrimination".

The intention, he said, was that the councils should be administrative bodies which brought

about contact and communication by co-ordinating cultural activities. This would serve to promote understanding between the races of their different cultures, and would give people an opportunity to participate in each other's cultures, thereby building a cohesive feeling in South Africa between the various races.

The Government's participation should be through the provision of funds with a minimum of interference and bureaucracy, Mr Van Rensburg said.

"We believe the people and cultural organisations themselves must have control over the promotion and co-ordination of the culture and must create mechanisms within the regional council to do so".

He said there were many forms of culture which had no boundaries of colour.

NEEDS, DEMANDS OF EXPANDING BLACK CONSUMERS MARKET DISCUSSED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 17 Mar 83 p 11

[Article by Peter Bunkell: "No One Can Ignore This New Colossus"]

[Text] **LEADING** South African businessmen were given an insight of the needs and demands of the rapidly expanding black market at a conference held in Johannesburg last week.

The conference — "The Black Colossus" — was organised by the University of the Witwatersrand's Graduate School of Business Administration, and speaker after speaker emphasised the necessity for white business to pay increased attention to the requirements of the burgeoning black market.

Dean of the Business School, Professor Andy Andrews, said that to meet the ever changing needs of the evolving black market, management required constant update and review.

"The challenges and potential benefits of this market are unlimited. There is no doubt that companies which overlook this fact will, within the next five years, reduce their market share."

The tone of the seminar was set by Stellenbosch demographer, Dr J A Grobbelaar, who revealed that from a current figure of 20,5-million, the black population was expected to increase to 28,9-million in 1990 and to 34,9-million by the year 2000.

"This implies an annual growth rate of 2,76% for the period 1980 to 1990, and 2,63% for the period 1990 to 2000."

"The proportions of the other three population groups — whites, coloureds and Asians — decline accordingly, with whites, due to very low fertility and mortality, showing the greatest decline both proportionately and in annual growth rates."

Dr Grobbelaar then isolated the 15 to 64 age group and said that, during the period 1980 to 2000, the increase in the number of black persons in this group was expected to be approximately 13,5 times that of whites, Asians and coloureds.

"The black population in the 15 to 64 age group is therefore of prime importance to marketers as the economically active persons in this group are to be the wage earners and family bread winners with money to spend and various needs for goods and services of all kinds."

Referring to urbanisation, Dr Grobbelaar said the black urban population was expected to increase from approximately 6,4-million in 1980 to 12,9-million in 1990 and 20,9-million by the year 2000. This implied an increase of some 226% between 1980 and the turn of the century.

"This increase in urban blacks will put further strain on aspects such as transport and the provision or extension of infrastructure alongside the demand for housing and education."

Mr P Lodge, a director of Market Research Africa, told the conference that, some years ago, he had been invited to address a similar meeting called "The Black Giant".

"I asked then, and I'm going to ask again: 'Is there a black market?' My belief is that the term 'black market' is a lazy marketer's way of speaking about a particular sector of the market."

"It is a sector which, in my view, is too heterogeneous to be treated as a totally separate market."

Mr Lodge said there was a black sector of the population which numerically formed a large part of the market.

"But it is not a matter of race. It is more a matter of factors like income and education. We are talking about other things here today, not skin pigmentation."

Addressing the conference on black enterprise, Mr I J Hetherington, director of the Small Business Advisory Services, said he believed there were at least 60 000 black-owned enterprises in greater South Africa.

"Depending on what happens in the next four or five years, the black entrepreneur could become big business's most bitter critic and enemy or he could become its most powerful supporter and ally."

Mr Hetherington said the black entrepreneur was keenly aware that he was not allowed freedom to compete in those geographical areas where most of South Africa's business was done.

At the same time, he saw white business entering his areas, and while he accepted that free enterprise meant competition there was a feeling that, since he had only recently been

allowed to emerge at all, he deserved some infant industry protection for a reasonable period of time.

"I mention these problems of the black entrepreneur not because the black entrepreneur is a chronic complainer constantly seeking handouts. He is not... rather, he is a sturdy and rugged individualist asking no more than the chance to succeed or fail against fair competition.

"But at the same time, big business should neither take him for granted nor assume that, as a fellow participant in what we euphemistically call a free market economy, his support for big business will be automatic."

Mr Hetherington drew attention to the value of black businessmen on the political front.

"Reflect on the security, or lack of it, of our position within the African continent. If history takes its usual course, the flag will follow trade, not the other way round.

"Our politicians, in seeking a peaceful future, will have to cross bridges built in the first place by our businessmen. Who better to build the first of these bridges, in the new era to which Africa has moved, than our own black entrepreneurs?"

In conclusion, Mr Hetherington said that, despite all past and present obstacles, despite the past apathy, indifference or even hostility of much of the big business sector, the black entrepreneur had emerged.

"He advocates and believes in free enterprise. He believes in fair competition and he is the key to future economic development and growth.

"He comes with an outstretched hand of friendship. Do not allow any of your people to kick him in the shins."

Developing a similar argument, top black businessman Mr Moses Maubane, director of the Black Bank, said it was essential that more be done to encourage the growth and development of a black capitalist class.

Mr Maubane said there was a strong possibility that South Africa would soon have to contend with foreign concepts like Marxism.

"Already there is a significant voice in the townships which favours the acceptance of a socialist economy as a means of redressing the current problem.

"It was in nobody's interest to see the elimination of the free market system in South Africa, but the way things were at the moment it did not seem the authorities meant that the concept of free enterprise should be regarded as part of the black man's system."

Mr Maubane said capitalists were not created in a vacuum. What was required was a full integration of the economy.

It was important that blacks became involved in the decision-making process at all levels. This was the only way the country could ensure the continuation of the Western way of life.

The managing director of Lubners Furnishers, Mr Mike Busschau, told the conference that, while early Johannesburg was exclusively white, this had changed tremendously. The man in the street had

changed colour and was certainly changing colour in retail terms.

"My company was also exclusively white and we realised that, as we were not trading in the last century, it was vitally important for us to re-look at our marketing strategy for the Eighties."

Mr Busschau said when Lubners undertook some market research to find out what the black consumer thought about his company they got a surprise.

"We found that they did not even know that we existed, or, if they did, they felt they were not welcome in our stores. We also found as a result of this research that the attitudes of our staff were causing the blacks who visited

our stores to feel unwanted.

"Our first step in our marketing strategy was to put our own house in order. We believe the black market is no different from the white market and we wanted a successful, multi-racial, harmonious atmosphere in our shops, where our customers could have a pleasant shopping experience and where they could feel at home."

Addressing the conference on black housing, the managing director of the SA Perm, Mr Boet Viljoen, said housing needs for the rapidly increasing black population were of such importance that the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council had had in depth discussions on the subject.

Mr Viljoen disclosed that the housing backlog for blacks in 1975 was 274 000 units. By 1982 it had increased to 501 000 units and by 1990 the figure would be in the region of 1.8-million.

"Add to this the future housing requirements for whites, coloureds and Asians and we arrive at a total housing requirement for South Africa, for 1982 to 1990, of 2.3-million units."

Mr Viljoen said a commission he had chaired had recommended to the Government the development of a housing process in black areas which would include a lively real estate market where people could sell at a profit to buy bigger and better homes.

Black estate agents would be trained by whites as to how to set up in business. The Estate Agents Board was involved, and a method of financing this project had been designed and was under way.

"Having in mind that homeowners will develop different attitudes to the rand they earn and the priorities for spending that rand, it is to be expected that a more stable, a more productive workforce, will develop.

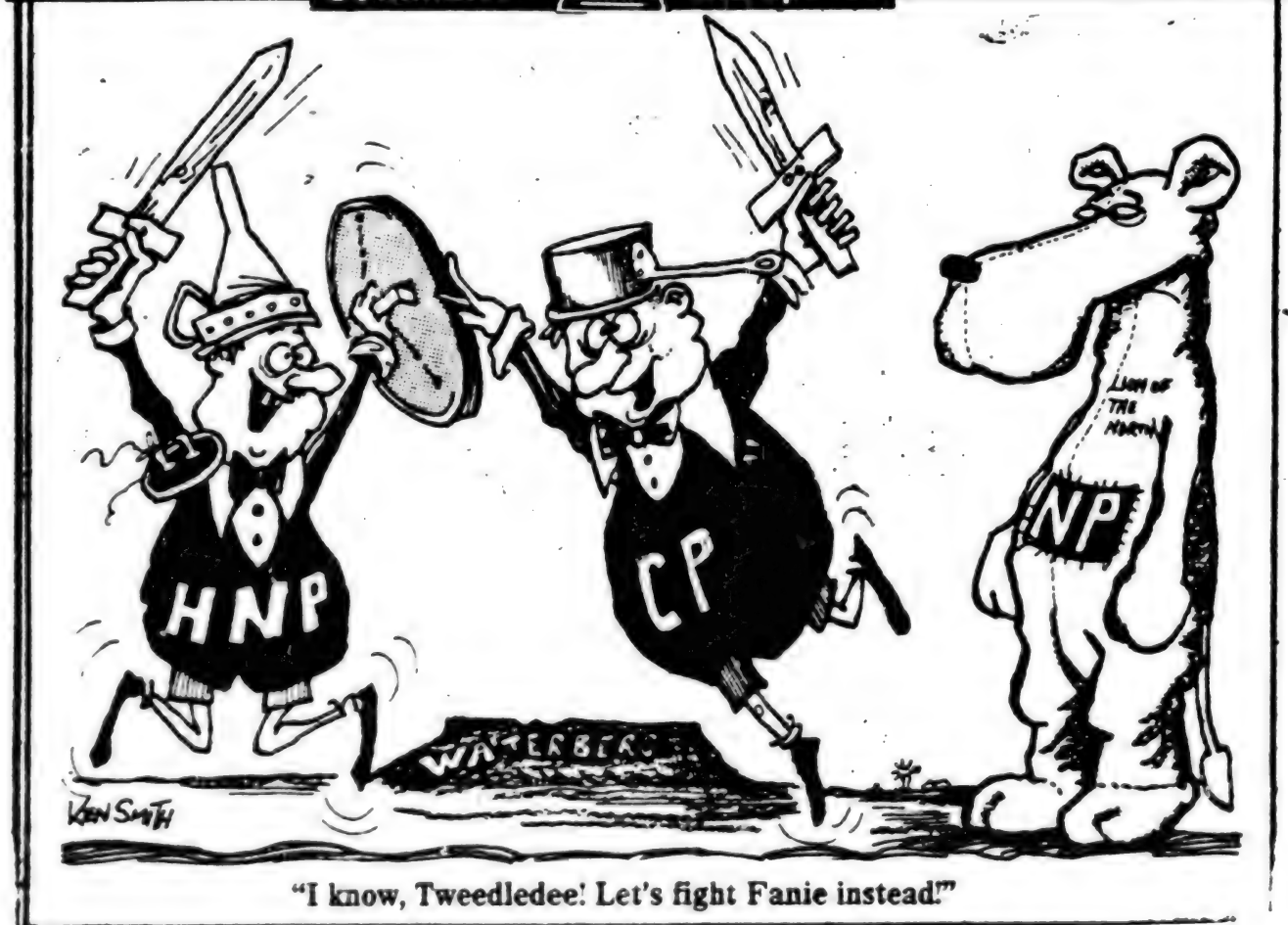
"Black people will become a greater force in the total savings picture of the country, which will contribute to the savings pool for the benefit of the greater development of South Africa. Their pride will be enhanced through ownership of property... a piece of South African soil."

HNP-CP BY-ELECTION ALLIANCE RIDICULED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Mar 83 p 6

[Text]

COMMENT and opinion



MEANING OF PCH DEAL EXPLAINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Mar 83 p 10M

[Text]

AECI subsidiary Polymer Converter Holdings (PCH) has entrenched its position in the local market with the R16-million acquisition of the poly-ethylene, compounding and recycling operations which make up the rump of Gundle Plastics, writes Alec Hogg.

In the process, PCH has added R30 million to the division's annual turnover of R182 million. This consolidates the strategy of expanding in downstream areas where the group is a dominant supplier, an AECI spokesman says.

AECI has long been the major supplier of raw materials to the divisions which it has acquired from Gundle, and these will dovetail well with existing operations in PCH.

Negotiations took less than two weeks, illustrating that the only problem area was the price.

The management of the former Gundle operations, under Gundle Plastics managing director Mr Bert Davis, joins PCH, giving the AECI subsidiary a self-contained addition to the group.

The chief executive and founder of Gundle Industries, Mr Cliff Gundle, says his group retains its US interests (a R10 million plastics factory in Houston), and the cupboard, kitchen, waterproofing, coatings and pollution control divisions.

Mr Gundle told The Star today: "It is my intention to concentrate on building up our other interests in Gundle Industries. There is no doubt that this is the right way for me to have gone.

"The divisions which I have sold, however, are still a soft spot of mine, and I will try to ensure that they become the star of Polymer Converter

Holdings," Mr Gundle added.

Mr Gundle will remain a director of Gundle Plastics, although he will obviously devote less time to PCH's new acquisitions.

Part of the R16 million consideration is through a five per cent stake which Gundle industries now holds in PCH, which ensures that it is in Mr Gundle's interests to ensure his former subsidiaries perform up to standard.

While the deal is nowhere near the biggest ever plastics takeover concluded in South Africa, it is material in that PCH has gained roughly half the operations of the largest independent plastics group in SA.

As AECI executive director Mr Ted Smale said to The Star: "The deal brings into AECI one of the few companies which do not compete directly with our other plastics interests."

CSO: 3400/1078

FARMERS COMPRISE NEARLY 50 PERCENT OF WHITE 'WEALTH OWNERS'

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 14 Mar 83 p 11M

[Text] DURBAN — Farming is the occupation with the highest average wealth among white men, says a University of Natal economic research project released on Friday.

The project, conducted by Mr MD McGrath, found that nearly half the white "wealth owners" in South Africa were farmers.

Twenty-one percent were professional and technical, 21 percent directors and managers, 6,9 percent senior civil servants, 7,6 percent salesmen and representatives and 13 percent were retired.

The top five percent of the white population owned, by value, 86 percent of privately-owned farms, 84 percent of privately-owned quoted shares and 98 percent of privately-owned unquoted shares, Mr McGrath found.

Zero wealth

The report also showed that large proportions of all race groups over the age of 20 had negligible wealth and 24 percent of the white population had zero wealth.

A crude estimate of the distribution from wealth, based on household expenditure surveys, showed the white share was at least 94 percent and the white

share of income in 1975 was estimated at 68 percent.

The top 10 percent of the South African population received at least 75 percent of the income from wealth.

In South Africa, the top five percent of wealth-owners accounted for 88 percent of personally-owned wealth, whereas the top five percent owned 54 percent of wealth; compared with the top five percent who

owned 54 percent of wealth in Britain, 34 percent in West Germany, 44 percent in the United States and 57 percent in Australia.

The super-rich, whose incomes exceeded R600 000 last year, consisted of a small fraction of whites and Asians but no coloured people.

The report shows that since 1910, average white incomes a head have been at least 11 times greater than the black average, which had allowed wealth to be accumulated in white hands through personal savings.

Inequitable

This pattern was perpetuated because, even if there were inter-class marriage among whites, the Mixed Marriages Act prevented wealth from being spread, the report said.

Before South Africa could even begin to claim to be a just society, all forms racial discrimination would have to be removed. Many lessons could be

learned from attempts to desegregate, it said.

American society showed that the removal of overt discrimination was not enough to counter inequalities and that corrective action against inequality uncovered additional features that had not previously been considered. Positive action had to be taken to combat past effects.

The report says the time has come for a complete reappraisal of the system of personal wealth taxation, since there is a pressing need for additional finance to be channelled to the development of the black community and the present estate duty seems a relatively inefficient and inequitable form of taxation.

EFFICIENCY GAP KEEPS WIDENING, SAYS SUGAR CHIEF

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 25

[Text] DURBAN. — One of the major trends in the sugar world was the increasing gap between the most and least efficient sugar producers, Professor A J Vltos, director general of the World Sugar Research Organisation (WSRO) said in Durban yesterday.

Professor Vltos, who was speaking at the conclusion of the organisation's congress, said that although it was difficult to predict with accuracy what the world sugar industry would be like in 10 to 15 years time, a "shake out" was taking place in the agricultural sector.

Some nations, which once were efficient cane or beet producers were becoming less efficient. The gap between the most efficient and the least efficient producers was becoming more pronounced.

"Nations which once exported sugar are now importing it," he said. "Conversely, the most efficient producers are narrowing down to a few — Australia, the EEC, South Africa, parts of the United States, Fiji, Swaziland, Brazil, to name just a few".

The professor, who succeeds Mr Tony Hugill as director-general of the London-based organisation, said he believed these agricultural trends were worthy of study.

A second perceivable trend was that the more efficient producers of sugar, whether of cane or beet, seemed to be the more affluent industrial nations.

There were exceptions, but they were becoming fewer. The world was witnessing an increasing tendency for agricultural surpluses from industrial nations to be exported to tropical Third World countries.

Professor Vltos said that one of the objectives of the WSRO was to keep abreast of trends in the industry, trends which might affect the types of research required in the future.

"If there is one trend of which I am certain for the future, it is the quick retrieval of information and the evaluation of data and its dissemination will be a key function of the WSRO," said Professor Vltos. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/1076

PAY, PRICE HIKES COST SA 'HIDDEN' BILLIONS IN GROWTH

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES-BUSINESS TIMES in English 13 Mar 83 p 1

[Article by Stephen Orpen]

[Text]

AT least R10 000-million in growth potential has been lost to South Africa in the past 10 years.

This is equivalent to more than 12% of the country's current annual gross domestic product (GDP) at factor cost.

The lost billions are the result of prices rising faster overall than real wages and salaries and productivity — if one measures price inflation by the so-called GDP Deflator.

It is also the result of the unequal way in which inflation impinges on the rich, the poor and on various business sectors, all with a different propensity to add to the national wealth and to national growth.

There are two common yardsticks of inflation: the well-known Consumer Price Index (CPI) and the GDP Deflator.

Thus, between 1970 and 1981, there was a 12.5% average annual jump in the Deflator compared with an 11.1% yearly rise in the CPI.

Even using the "kinder" Consumer Price Index, nominal salaries and wages, which grew at an annual average rate of more than 13% in 1973-82, reflected a paltry

real increase (that is, after allowing for CPI inflation) of only 1.8% a year.

By contrast, the average increase in the "general price level" was a whopping 12.6% a year.

Moreover, signs are that the discrepancy has got worse rather than better in the recent months of severe economic recession.

Pay packets have been frozen or increased very little, whereas prices have continued to steam strongly ahead, albeit at a rate some claim is gradually slowing.

As a result of the skewed pay and price rates of increase in 1973-82, wage and salary earners have collectively been able to buy proportionately less each year than in 1972 — if one applies the Deflator to their earnings so as to arrive at the real purchasing power of their money.

In 1973-82, preliminary calculations show that this has cost the country R10 000-million in lost sales.

Again using rough yardsticks, this has acted like a loss of steam in a locomotive — substantially slowing up the economic train behind.

A special Reserve Bank study shows that in 1973 the remuneration of all employ-

ees in SA was R10 116-million at current prices, compared with a Business Times estimate of about R34 000-million (240% up) for 1983.

In the same period prices of the goods and services bought by all income earners has remained about one-to-one, suggesting that, as employees were gradually able to buy less and less with their

earnings, income from other sources like investment enabled those who received investment income to make up the shortfall, but not to improve the ratio.

The value of goods and services bought by employees at current prices seems to have risen from around R10 000-million in 1973 to much more than R34 000-million for the same or equivalent shopping basket today.

The country's gross GDP has meanwhile moved from R19 274-million (at current prices) in 1973 to more than R65 000-million estimated for 1983.

However, it could have been much higher by the end of the period if employees had kept pay and productivity increases ahead of the erosion of the GDP Deflator.

First to uncover the matter

in detail and publicly (although it was always there for those who knew where and why to look in official statistics) was the chief economist of Barclays National Bank, Dr Johan Cloete, well known for his unpopular lobby for a price-and-incomes policy.

In Barclays' latest Business Brief, Dr Cloete notes: "The uneven pace at which wage and price inflation proceeds has resulted in deficient aggregate demand, which has kept economic growth and employment generally at depressed levels."

"The way in which this demand — arising from the insufficient margin between wage and price increases — operates to reduce growth and employment is by depressing private consumption expenditure...."

"One of the main reasons why inflation is so damaging to an economy is that it proceeds at such an uneven pace in different sectors and industries...."

"Although white workers accounted for 70.1% of the total salary and wage bill in 1970, their share of the total wage packet had dropped to 58.7% by 1981."

BRIEFS

CRIME INCREASES--The Institute of Sociological and Demographic research of the Human Sciences Research Council has found in surveys among all population groups in the country that many South Africans, but Indian and Coloureds in particular, viewed crime as a serious social problem. The surveys also showed an increase in crime. Surveys on crime victims showed that most people felt unsafe at night outside their home environment. Forty percent of Coloureds interviewed considered their residential areas very unsafe. Among whites about 10 percent admitted to having changed their life styles and social activities because of their fear of crime. This applied to 40 percent of Indians interviewed and 56 percent of Coloureds. The majority of all population groups felt the need for firearms, insurance, burglar proofing and alarms to protect themselves. Eighty-two percent of Indians thought inadequate police protection was a problem that demanded more attention. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 28 Mar 83 p 4]

MILITARY TRAINING--Altogether 355 men are in South African Defence Force detention centres for refusing to undergo military training, according to the latest available figures. This was revealed by General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, yesterday in a written reply to a question by Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg). Mr Myburgh had asked how many people were in detention in each centre at the latest specified date for which figures were available and for what offence each of them was detained. Apart from those refusing to undergo training, the next highest number of detainees (185) are being held for going awol. Other offences include those in connection with conduct in action, disobeying lawful commands or orders, theft and two for drunkenness. The men are being held at various centres, including Voortrekkerhoogte, Wynberg, Grootfontein and Bloemfontein. In reply to another question from Mr Myburgh, Gen Malan said two people serving sentences for refusing to do military service had been held in solitary confinement for 13 days last year. They had disobeyed a command to wear the prescribed brown uniform. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 83 p 4]

SADF DEATHS--Last year 259 members of the South African Defence Force died as a result of accidents, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday. Replying to a question by Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg) General Malan said a further 149 members had died and 72 had been seriously injured as a result of other causes. None of these involved enemy action. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 83 p 4]

KRUGERRAND SALES--Altogether 4 114 111 Krugerrands of various sizes were sold last year for a total of R1 020 547 722,65, the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, said yesterday in a written reply to a question by Mr Theo Aronson (NP Elected member). [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 83 p 4]

CHANGED RACE GROUPS--Between July 1981 and June 1982, a total of 722 Cape Coloureds were reclassified as White and 15 Whites were reclassified as Chinese, according to the Department of Internal Affairs' annual report for that period. The report says that since the second half of 1980 there was an increase in the number of applications for reclassification and that a backlog developed in dealing with them because of a shortage of trained staff. A team of senior officers from other departments was trained intensively to perform "this complicated task" after hours and the position improved considerably. As a result 1 189 more applications were dealt with during the year under review than in previous years. Other applications approved were of three Whites to Cape Coloured, 10 Blacks to Cape Coloured, seven Chinese to Whites and 39 Cape Coloured to Indian. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Mar 83 p 4]

POPULATION REGISTER--Until June last year a total of 6 783 917 Whites, Coloureds and Asians had been recorded in the population register, according to the Department of Internal Affairs' annual report for July 1981 to June 1982. Of these, 6 419 999 had been provided with identity documents. The report noted that according to the population increase projections provided by Central Statistical Services, an estimated 1 023 948 Whites, Coloureds and Asians aged 15 and over had not yet been provided with identity documents on June 30, 1982. Also in that year, 156 671 new firearm licences were issued and recorded in the population register. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Mar 83 p 4]

SQUATTER CONTROL--Cape Town.--A motion to stop squatter control operations in the Cape Divisional Council area was outvoted nine to six at a Council meeting yesterday. Mr L Pothier proposed the council inform the Government of its unwillingness on moral grounds to carry out further squatter control operations. He said the Council "could not in all conscience allow itself to be used by central government for its dirty work". The official who demolished squatter shacks could say he was carrying out orders, but the council made the policy and remained responsible for it. Mr Pothier said no solution was being offered for the root causes of squatting and any revision of Council policy starting with the premise the Council act in line with Government policy was unacceptable on moral grounds. He said he felt whoever voted against the motion had "no moral problem against tearing down houses" or was "putting the political aspect before anything else". Mr A J L Powell said Mr Pothier was asking the Council to "break the laws of the land". He said the Council had a duty to clear land of squatters under the laws of the land. Mr D Lambert, chairman of the housing committee, said before a decision was taken on influx control, an unlimited amount of influx was permitted which posed health and security problems for the Council.--Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Mar 83 p 8]

BOPHUTHATSWANA-ISRAEL RADIO LINK--Two Radio Bophuthatswana announcers are to leave for Israel this week on an exchange visit with Israeli Radio and Television. Felicia Mabuza-Suttle, chief editor and jazz presenter, and Makgotla Thebe, sports announcer and music presenter, would work closely with Israeli educational television, Radio Bophuthatswana announced yesterday. The two would examine the possibility of training in Israel for Bophuthatswana's television personnel and would appear on Israeli radio and television stations. Radio Bophuthatswana said a team of Israeli broadcast journalists was expected to visit Bophuthatswana to film a documentary on the state.-- Sapa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 30 Mar 83 p 17]

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION--The percentage of South Africa's total agricultural production which was not under the control of any board established under the Marketing Act had increased from 1981 to 1982, the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, said yesterday. In a written reply to a question put by Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg) Mr Wentzel said the percentage had increased from 24,37 to 28,68. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 4]

LOANS TO FARMERS--A total of R976 401 854 had been granted in loans to 22 660 farmers by the Land and Agricultural Bank as at the end of 1982, the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, said yesterday in written reply to a question from Mr Philip Myburgh (PFP, Wynberg). [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 4]

AWB MEMBER'S PLEA--A member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Mr C J Jooste of Skinner Street, Pretoria, pleaded not guilty in the Rustenburg Regional Court yesterday to charges relating to the storage and possession of explosives. No evidence was lead and the trial was postponed to June 6. Mr Jooste's appearance was a sequel to raids conducted by the Security police last year, during which a quantity of explosives and high-powered rifles were seized. Five other members of the movement, including its leader, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, are to face charges relating to the storage and possession of explosives and arms and ammunition during the next two months. All have pleaded not guilty at earlier hearings. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 25 Mar 83 p 9]

RABIE QUILTS WRAB--The West Rand Administration Board's director of Community Services, Mr Alec Rabie, yesterday bid the Kagiso Community Council farewell as he is resigning his post for a new venture on black housing at the end of the month. Mr Rabie, who has been Wrab's director for three years told the council that it took him six "agonising" months to reach the decision to resign. He will be succeeded by Mr Steve Burger. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 83 p 3]

TAPED CONVERSION EVIDENCE--Court proceedings in the Kempton Park terror trial came to a halt for four hours yesterday while a court interpreter and the four accused worked out another translation of a taped conversation between one of the accused and his mother at Modderbee Prison. The magistrate Mr I J J Luther had ruled that the tapes were admissable as state evidence against

Mr Stanley Radebe (27) after defence attorney Mr D Soggot had complained that portions of the transcript had been incorrectly translated from Zulu to English. Mr Soggot had also held that the tape should not be allowed because it had been procured without Mr Radebe's knowledge. He had argued that although the State in theory could cross-examine any document or transcript, it could not produce evidence after it had closed its case. He said he was unaware of any precedent set for using the tape. Mr Radebe and his co-accused have pleaded not guilty to charges under the Terrorism Act on alternatively recruiting inciting and encouraging other people to undergo military training outside the country. The other three are Mr Ernest Mohakala (23) of Molapo, Mr Mthuthuzeli Madalane (24) of Senaoane and Miss Innocentia "Freedom" Mazibuko (20) of Zone 6 Diepkloof. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 83 p 3]

SHORTAGE OF HOMES--The serious shortage of homes in Wattville has resulted in at least 30 school teachers resigning from their posts annually due to lack of accommodation. Member of the school committee Mr Noel Mlokoti told THE SOWETAN yesterday that if the situation was not improved many others would resign. The problem, Mr Mlokoti said, would also result in the area producing bad school results because children would be "left stranded". "Because of accommodation problems, teachers are hard to find and even if they are recruited, they do not usually stay very long. Because most of the teachers have to travel from other townships, they usually stay until such time as they can find work closer to their homes," he said. Mr Mlokoti said as teachers were changing their jobs so often, this did not help with the teaching of people in Wattville. The problem was so bad that it needed urgent attention from authorities. The last time any form of development took place in Wattville was more than 20 years ago. Since then not a single house has been built in the township. He blamed the East Rand Administration Board for making many unfulfilled promises. He called on the council and the Principals' Council in Wattville to join hands and meet Erab and education authorities with the aim of asking them to provide housing for teachers. [Text] [Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 25 Mar 83 p 9]

CSO: 3400/1076

ZAIRE

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO UN--President Mobutu Sese Seko has nominated (Umba Dede Teki) as Zaire's ambassador to the United Nations. The nomination was published in an ordinance signed on 29 March. It is a very important nomination because it comes just after Zaire's nomination to the presidency of the UN Security Council, which takes effect in May. [Text] [AB010851 Kinshasa Domestic Service in French 1130 GMT 31 Mar 83]

NEW JAPANESE ENVOY--President Mobutu Sese Seko today received credentials from the new Japanese Ambassador, Terao Kosugi. In the visitors' book, the Japanese diplomat wrote and I quote: "During my stay in Zaire, I will work to strengthen the friendship and good relations existing between our two countries." [Excerpt] [AB011824 Kinshasa Domestic Service in French 1130 GMT 1 Apr 83]

CSO: 3419/727

MARXISM CREDITED WITH HELPING WIN WAR

Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 83 p 9

[Text] THE most mature marxist cadres were the most effective in the war to liberate Zimbabwe from racism and imperialism, a university law lecturer said last night.

Cde Kempton Makamure said marxist concepts were introduced to the country during the struggle for independence.

"It was the armed struggle that became the conduit through which marxist ideology gradually but surely permeated Zimbabwean society," he told a public lecture to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.

Cadres had been sent to the Soviet Union — the home of one leader of the first marxist state in the world — and to China, where one of the world's greatest revolutions by workers and peasants, took place.

These cadres had returned not only with more knowledge in military training, but with their outlook radicalised.

"The point of the struggle was not just to defeat colonialism and restore the dignity of the black man, but it was to change the social system of capitalism bequeathed to us by colonialism and to create a society free of exploitation of man by man."

Cde Makamure said testimonies of the liberation struggle showed that it

was the more mature marxist-inspired cadres who were the best and had the staunchest resolve and fighting qualities against the enemy.

Imperialism and not just racism was defined as the enemy of the African people and in this struggle Marx, Engels and Lenin became the companions of freedom fighters.

The ideas of Marx and Lenin had not been lost to the leadership in Zimbabwe during the struggle. "Cde Herbert Chitepo became the first Zimbabwean nationalist leader to acquire firm marxist consciousness, and his practical implementation of their basic teaching on war strategy won the day and helped to make Zania a decisive force in the Zimbabwe liberation struggle."

Cde Jason Moyo in Zapu had also become "a great and progressive leader, whose ideas closely identified with those of Chitepo". The Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, he said, was the only former nationalist leader who today had embraced scientific socialist consciousness.

"Although he leads a largely nationalist country, he has combined the revolutionary democratic tradition of Chitepo and Moyo and will be revered by future generations as

the Sun Yat-Sen of Zimbabwe."

Sun Yat-Sen (1866-1925) was a great Chinese revolutionary at a time when the communist forces against the imperi-

alists were still very weak.

Cde Makamure said that the days of capitalism were numbered. "Capitalism is now a dying system and capitalist nations of the world are hopelessly on the defensive, frantically trying to ward off capitalism's inevitable collapse."

On June 25 1975 Africa had seen the birth of the first marxist state — Mozambique — and throughout the rest of Africa neo-colonial capitalism had failed to meet the demands of its oppressed and African marxists were emerging giving the exploited and neglected masses faith and hope in the future prosperity and dignity of Africa.

"Today, because of Marx and in spite of the viciousness of his capitalist opponents, more than half of mankind are implementing Marx's idea of total human emancipation."

MUGABE DEFENDS MILITIA AS DEATHS OF DISSIDENTS REVEALED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Mar 83 p 11

[Article by Robin Drew: "For the Protection of the People, Goose-stepping Defenders of Socialism..."]

[Text] **At a time when a People's Militia is being established to flush out "enemies of the people", there is growing sensitivity to revelations of the actions of Zimbabwe Government forces against dissidents in Matabeleland, writes Robin Drew of The Star's Africa News Service.**

To many people in Southern Africa, the name Kim Il-sung might draw the response, "Kim Il-who?"

But in Zimbabwe the influence of the North Korean leader, one of the world's greatest cult figures, is slowly spreading.

It is the North Korean officers sent to Zimbabwe by the Great Leader, as he is known, who trained the soldiers of the national army's Fifth Brigade, which has gained international notoriety for its aggressive posture in Matabeleland.

North Korean designers and builders put up the towering memorial at Heroes' Acre in Harare to commemorate those who died in the struggle to liberate Zimbabwe from white rule.

It is North Korean rice, a gift from the government in Pyongyang, which Zimbabweans are now eating.

And it is North Korean officers who are training the instructors who will spread their influence to the remotest corners of Zimbabwe as the latest arm of the security forces, the People's Militia, takes shape.

At a parade at Paradise Camp near Bindura, about 80 km from Harare, the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, told 750 instructors who had completed a four-month training course that it would be their job to instil in the thousands of militia members around the country the same sense of purpose, enthusiasm and self-discipline which had been demanded of them by their Korean comrades-in-arms.

It is planned to establish a 20 000 strong militia which, according to the Deputy Minister in charge of paramilitary matters, Mr William Ndangana, will work hand-in-hand with the 40 000-strong regular national army, the police and the Central Intelligence Organisation.

Men and women between 16 and 65 who "support the Government" will be eligible to join, said Mr Ndangana, a veteran guerilla fighter, former Zania chief of operations and member of the ruling party's central committee.

Militia units will be established in districts throughout the country with 2 500 personnel in each of the eight provinces.

Mr Mugabe has described the role of the militia as the eyes and ears of the government, especially active in the rural areas because it was there, he said, that the enemy would seek to obtain food, water, money and cover.

But it is not only armed bands that the militia will be trained to counter. It will also be their job to be on the alert for people spreading anti-government propaganda.

"Some of the enemy will be armed with dissenting tongues to sow the seeds of doubt and discord," said Mr Mugabe.

"In many cases these interlopers are more dangerous because they are trained to sound plausible and their objective is to lure the people away from the path of socialism.

"Armed or unarmed, the People's Militia must warn the armed forces and police of the presence of such elements immediately."

The North Korean influence in the training of the first group of instructors was evident in the display put on at their final parade.

Like the Fifth Brigade, the militiamen drilled with communist AK-47 rifles. Their ceremonial march is the goose step.

Most other units of the armed forces are trained on British Army lines and are equipped with FN or G3 rifles, weapons used by the Nato forces and passed on to the Zimbabwe National Army from the Rhodesian security forces.

Big play is also made of the martial arts.

So far the People's Militia has been established in only one district, Gokwe, in the northern part of the country bordering on Matabeleland.

Mr Ndangana says it has been successful in flushing out dissidents from there.

He estimates that it will take four years to get the militia operating all

over Zimbabwe. By then, he says, it will be ready to take on anybody, including South African forces should they invade Zimbabwe.

'Get Evidence, Don't Shout Out Propaganda...'

Mr Robert Mugabe does not often appear rattled. His controlled, disciplined response in times of tension is a characteristic of the Zimbabwe Prime Minister.

But he displayed a rare lack of composure on his return to Harare from the non-aligned summit in India at the weekend and was questioned at a packed Press conference, not about the summit, but about Mr Joshua Nkomo and allegations of atrocities by security forces in Matabeleland.

It was a question about reports of women and children being killed by 5th Brigade soldiers that led to an angry outburst from the Prime Minister.

He banged the table and told his questioner, a German television reporter, to produce the evidence of killings, not to shout out propaganda which his employers wanted put about.

And when a Japanese reporter asked whether there would be an international investigation, Mr Mugabe, his voice rising with emotion, said if there was any investigating to be done, Zimbabwe would do it.

The nerve that was touched by these questions is an indicator of the

sensitivity of the situation which has resulted from the decision to crush dissident activity by hitting at the people in areas where the rebels have been operating.

But it is not just a question of adverse international reaction that has upset people here. There is also the awareness that there is a strong tribal undercurrent to the troubles.

Voices are beginning to be heard expressing concern about the damaging long term effects of alienating the people of Matabeleland, who, while they are a minority, are a substantial one.

Mr Mugabe has made an attempt to repair some of the damage done by the strident cries of some of his hardline Ministers who have been threatening to ban Mr Nkomo's Zapu Party and push ahead with the plans for a one-party state.

He said Zapu could continue to operate, its representatives in the

Cabinet could retain their seats, the intention to institute the one-party system remained but this would come about only when the people had given their verdict.

His comments on Mr Nkomo's flight were also markedly restrained seen against the reaction of

some of his Ministers and supporters who were all out for Mr Nkomo's blood.

Mr Nkomo could come back, though he would not admit to urging him to return, his safety was assured, but if the police intended to go ahead with charges which Mr Mugabe did not regard as very substantial they would be allowed to do so.

This approach is likely to go some way towards meeting the fears that have been expressed here that the government has thrown dialogue and debate out of the window in favour of confrontation.

Last week the Catholic publication, *Moto*, urged the government to commit itself to critical discussion and open debate to try to find the answers to questions about why the dissident problem had arisen.

A commentator in a national Sunday newspaper also called for open and honest debate.

He said that one of the flaws operating against unity was the unwillingness to face unpleasant facts about the differing backgrounds of the people in Zimbabwe.

The choice, as he saw it, was for

the government to create unity either by consensus flowing from honest debate, or by force, which would mean rivers of blood.

But there is another factor which the commentator did not mention — whether debate in the absence of Mr Nkomo would have any meaningful effect.

There are certainly elements in Government who believe that the country would be better off without him.

But will this satisfy the people of Matabeleland? Would Zapu without Mr Nkomo stand for anything? That will be known only if and when he decides to come home.

CSO: 3400/1075

POWER FROM HWANGE WILL BE LATE

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 11 Mar 83 pp 1, 16

[Text] **THE commissioning of the first stage of the Hwange Power Station which was originally due to come into operation by March or mid-April this year has been delayed.**

The huge \$805 million total power-from-coal project operated by the Electricity Supply Commission has fallen some weeks behind schedule for the first phase, which is now not expected to start feeding power into Zimbabwe's national electricity network until about June this year.

This was confirmed by the general manager of the ESC, Mr Douglas Irvine, who told a *Gazette* reporter this week that it would come on stream in a few weeks' time.

"With all large and complicated projects such as this, one can only give projected estimated dates for final completion," he said. "There have been a few inevitable delays but that is normal for such projects elsewhere, as well. It will only be a few more weeks before we start up. We do not expect to be later than June.

Mr Irvine said it should be remembered that the Hwange project had first been planned in 1972, 11 years ago and since then "a war and other problems had intervened."

About three kilometres away from the new power station the Wankie Colliery open-cast coal mining operations are going ahead and supplies of thermal coal are now being delivered on schedule to the power station. These are being stockpiled for the day when the four first-phase generators of Hwange No 1 start up and feed 480 megawatts into the national power network.

The thermal power station project is of vital importance to Zimbabwe. By 1972, more than a decade ago, local power supplies reached their limit. Power had to be taken from Zambia and a large amount is still coming from there.

As soon as Hwange No 1 comes into operation, the cost of taking part of the Zambian power should be considerably reduced.

But it is most unlikely that electricity bills for local consumers will be reduced because the funding of the total \$805 million project, involving both international and local banks, will continue for some years ahead.

Until the new source of power comes on stream and can generate finance while saving on the cost of Zambian electricity, interest on the large construction loans must be met by the ESC. In turn this means that electricity charges for all Zimbabwe consumers must increase.

The proposed later second stage of the huge power project has been planned to almost double the first-phase output to a total of 920 megawatts. The entire complex involves the most up-to-date technology available and has been described as one of the biggest and most essential national developments. It is designed to fill Zimbabwe's growing power needs for many years ahead.

However, the Government's stated intention to set up a national unified electricity authority to generate and distribute power in Zimbabwe throughout the country has been criticised in some professional circles.

An informed spokesman said

that the Ministry of Industry and Energy Development and planned to build the new national undertaking on the base of the ESC organisation.

But he believed that the industry would be better based on two levels. The generation and transmission at very high voltage and bulk sales of power should be on one level, and the distribution together with retail sales direct to consumers should be on another.

This would involve the amalgamation of CAPCO with the generation and transmission section of the ESC, as CAPCO (a hydro-electric organisation) was better staffed with skilled and experienced workers.

The spokesman said that although the ESC had very high voltage lines built for them some years ago, they employed CAPCO to control the operation of the lines and to maintain and repair them.

He added that the ESC was originally set up to carry out the function of a rural electricity authority and should be confined to its "proper role" of rural supply. This would leave the major urban authorities such as the Harare and Bulawayo City Councils and others to get on with their responsibilities to supply their residents' needs in all services at the lowest possible cost and so put a brake on rapidly accelerating power costs.

The urban authorities could run their own power undertakings, as they already did with water, sewerage and other amenities common to concentrated urban centres, he said.

This would leave the ESC to its function as a rural electricity authority and he added: "Any rural project will need Government backing, and more important, finance. But urban electricity undertakings have the infrastructure of multiple services and are virtually self-supporting in the collective sphere."

He believed that the proper course for the Zimbabwe national system of electricity supply would be to allow CAPCO to get on with "their legal right of action" in developing power sources and transmission to points of large distribution connection, while ESC catered for rural needs.

Other spokesman, however, said that in terms of the Electricity Act of 1936 provision was made for the ESC, at that time under the control of the Ministry of Mines, to provide power supplies to adjacent urban areas.

They also said that the ESC, as in other countries, would avoid considerable and wasteful duplication of staff and services by amalgamating with the urban authorities.

CSO: 3400/1075

SUCCESS OF BUILDING BRIGADES ACCLAIMED

Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Mar 83 p 5

[Text] URBAN councils sceptical about building brigades should follow the example of towns such as Kwekwe and Marondera, the Minister of Housing, Cde Simbarashe Mumbengegwi, has said.

Speaking after a tour of inspection in the two towns last week, the minister said the excuses that brigades were too expensive and not comparable with private contractors were unfounded.

The minister, who also inspected a house-upgrading scheme in Kadoma, labelled these councils "armchair builders" and challenged them to visit areas where the brigades were operating to see how successful they were.

In Marondera a 13-man materials production brigade

produces between 1 200 and 1 400 building blocks a day. They had made more than 12 000 blocks with a block-making machine acquired only two weeks ago.

The Marondera Town Clerk, Cde Nomutse Chideya, said of the brigade: "They have their hearts in the job and know that they are working for the people, and so work with minimum supervision."

The blocks they make cost 19c each compared with 30c charged by private retailers.

These blocks are used for building houses in the Chitepo high-density suburb. The 50-member construction brigade has already completed 24 houses and is working on 53 others. With two builders for outside walls and one for

partitions, it takes four days to complete a house.

The town council hopes to complete 120 units by mid-July this year. Each of the four-roomed houses, with provision for extension, costs \$3 600.

Kwekwe's materials production brigade produces various sizes of building blocks, standard bricks, breeze blocks, flagels and blocks for prefabricated walling. Formed last December, this is one of the most productive brigades.

The Town Engineer, Cde George Mlilo, said the town council's heads of department met every week to review the work of the brigade while the full council did a monthly review of their work.

Thirty-three four-roomed

houses are nearing completion and 44 others are above foundation stage in the town's Mbizo high-density suburb. Each house costs \$4 200.

Cde Mumbengegwi said he expected Kwekwe to charge less for the houses because it had a lot of locally obtainable materials. Slack and reclaimed steel for making lintels was being obtained from scrapyards of local companies.

Kadoma Town Council is in the process of pulling down 674 nissen houses and another lot of "chimney" houses occupied by about 300 families. It is expected that the programme will be complete by 1985.

To date, 18 houses have been completed and the council hopes to build an average of 38 houses each month.—ZIS.

COMMERCE MINISTER THREATENS TO BAN ZUCCO

Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] **THE Minister of Trade and Commerce, Cde Richard Hove, warned yesterday that the Government can invoke the Emergency Powers Regulations to ban the Zimbabwe United Chamber of Commerce if the organisation continues to operate illegally.**

"We have made it clear, the Government will only deal with one organisation, and that is the Zimbabwe National Chamber of Commerce and any other is non-existent", he declared.

The minister was reacting to reports that Zucco, led by Professor Stanlake Samkange, had been clandestinely, collecting money from businessmen and issuing receipts with Zucco printed on them.

He added that last year, reports had reached him that Zucco had cheated some businessmen out of money, promising them that they would receive loans from the Government.

"But if there are still businessmen being duped this way, I can only say that is unfortunate," the minister said.

He warned however, "If Zucco wants us to use emergency powers to deal with them, then we will do just that and ban them".

Earlier the minister told a news conference that negotiations between Zimbabwe and the German Democratic Republic had recently begun to explore possible barter between the two countries.

A delegation from the GDR had recently visited Zimbabwe as part of these negotiations.

The minister, who left Harare last night to attend

the Leipzig Trade Fair, one of the most prestigious trade exhibitions in Europe — said the East Germans had expressed interest in Zimbabwe's tobacco. "We have quite a stockpile of this commodity and feel it will meet our requirements if the barter deal comes through," he said.

Zimbabwe would be looking at plastics, paper products, stainless steel products and other goods for possible importation.

This will be the first time Zimbabwe will have participated in the Leipzig Fair which runs from tomorrow through to Saturday. — Ziana.

ARMY NEEDS FUNDS TO END RACIST WAGES

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Mar 83 p 5

[Text] THE Ministry of Defence needs an additional \$39 million to bring the pay of black soldiers in the army into line with the pay of white soldiers, the Minister of State responsible for defence, Cde Sydney Sekeramayi, told the Senate on Tuesday night.

Speaking on the defence vote of \$50 million during debate at the committee stage of the Appropriation (Supplementary) (1982-83) Bill, Cde Sekeramayi said that at independence the Government inherited a discriminatory pay scale in the army.

Black and white officers received the same pay but private soldiers were subject to discriminatory pay, the minister said.

African privates were earning \$4.24 a day, while whites were getting \$7.89 a day.

"What we have sought to do is to reconcile the two so that there is no discrimination," he said.

This exercise should have been budgeted for in the 1981-82 estimates, "but because of financial constraints we were asked to limit ourselves to the vote assigned to defence, and that vote had not taken into account the scheme for removing racial discrimination".

The scheme had now been implemented and was costing \$39 million, as re-

flected in the supplementary estimates, he added.

A further \$8 million was needed as part of a five-year programme to replace old army vehicles.

Another \$3 million would be used to buy certain technical equipment necessary for the army's operations.

Cde Sekeramayi told Senator Mark Partridge that steps had been taken to ensure that no unnecessary loss or damage to army vehicles was incurred.

The minister said he thought Senator Partridge was out of order when he referred to the report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General for the year ended June 30 1981, saying this was irrelevant to the supplementary estimates.

Senator Partridge said that in the report damage to state property was estimated at \$2 229 634 with \$1.2 million of this attributable to aircraft accidents, \$39 000 to vehicle accidents and the remainder to cash losses.

The roads were becoming increasingly dangerous because of army vehicles, the Republican Front senator said, asking whether any of the extra \$50 million needed by the ministry was because of the army's accident rate.

When Cde Sekeramayi said this was not relevant, Senator Partridge rose to insist that the minister

clarify the need for an additional \$50 million on top of the original vote of \$291 million.

He quoted the report as saying that it had not been possible then to make complete checks on assets held by uniformed

infantry battalions and at assembly points and that there had been "unacceptable and unexplained delays" in dealing with correspondence from the auditor-general on this matter.

"This indicates a breakdown in audit procedures," Senator Partridge said, adding that he wanted to know if this situation still existed or whether it had been rectified.

Senator George Hartley asked the minister whether the \$8 million for replacing army vehicles would be spread over five years or whether the same amount would be needed every year for five years.

"When you start acquiring vehicles over a given period there are certain amounts you are required to pay initially. This is the initial instalment as part of the five-year programme," the minister replied.

MASANGO NAMES FIVE TO AIRLINE BOARD

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] THE Minister of Transport, Cde Farai Masango, yesterday named five of the six members of the Air Zimbabwe board.

Dr Chris Mushonga, chairman of the old board, remains and continues in that position. A Harare man, Mr Robert Kerswell, becomes the deputy chairman.

The Editor of The Chronicle in Bulawayo, Cde Tommy Sithole, and a Harare lawyer, Mr Fanuel Muhwati, are the two new faces on the board.

The airline's acting general manager, Mr John Deary, is an ex-officio member of the new board.

But Mr Deary's post is already being advertised and the minister said yesterday he would not continue in his present post.

The sixth member of the board has not yet been named. The minister said he wanted him to be a representative of Air Zimbabwe workers. "The modalities of this will be worked out as soon as possible."

Air Zimbabwe has been without a full board for four months and Cde Masango said such a situation was not conducive to the smooth running of the corporation.

When the representative of the workers at AZ is named, he will be the second such person to be ap-

pointed a member of the board of a parastatal body.

Cde Masango said in appointing these people he had considered the need

to establish a board which would identify with the objectives of the new order in the country.

The new AZ board, the minister said, would be charged with the following tasks:

- Adopting a properly rationalised policy, which will ensure efficiency;
- Ensuring viability of the national airline and continuous development of workers at the corporation;
- Eradicating all forms of discrimination, especially racism;
- Improving punctuality, politeness, cleanliness as well as improving the general image of the national airline in its operations;
- Make Air Zimbabwe the brightest star in SADCC and;
- Replace the present colour inherited from Air Rhodesia with colours that have a meaning to the Zimbabwe nation.

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN PROJECTS--Romanian companies are willing to enter into joint projects and ventures with Zimbabwean companies and help develop the country's technology potential and train local manpower, the commercial counsellor at the Romanian embassy, Mr Gheorge Dobran, said last week. Interviewed by THE GAZETTE, the counsellor said Romania has a wide range of products which it can supply to Zimbabwe. Romania is also a potential customer of Zimbabwean exports. "We can supply Zimbabwe with chemical raw materials, sodium products, solvents, plastic raw materials, synthetic rubber, raw materials for the pharmaceutical industry and synthetic yarns and fibres for the textile industry. "Romania has a developed engineering industry and can provide Zimbabwe with transport vehicles, railway locomotives and coaches, machine tools and equipment for the steel processing industry. We can also supply tractors and combine harvesters," he said. Zimbabwe imported limited amounts of chemical fertilisers, electronic equipment and machine tools from Romania. Last year, Romania bought Zimbabwean goods valued at more than \$5 million. Mr Dobran said Romania had provided scholarships for Zimbabweans to study in his country, and there were more than 50 students currently doing higher education there. A total of 60 students had taken six-month crash training courses in agricultural co-operatives, agronomics and agricultural management and administration. [Text] [Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 11 Mar 83 p 5]

TELEPRINT CONTRACT--The Posts and Telecommunications Corporation has signed a contract worth more than \$1 million with Philips Electrical, the local arm of the worldwide electronics group, for the supply of 600 teleprinters. The units, to be delivered during the second half of this year, are being manufactured in Sweden by Philips Elektronikindustrier AB. The financing package has been arranged under the Swedish Government's concessional mixed credit loan scheme and includes a 25 percent aid element. It carries a zero rate of interest and is repayable over five years. The teleprinters incorporate features and facilities not normally available in teleprinters currently used in Zimbabwe, said Mr Terry Forbes, divisional manager (telecommunications) for Philips Electrical. "The conventional paper tape system is replaced with a solid state memory unit capable of storing up to 16 000 or 32 000 characters, about 40 average telex messages, of information in as many different messages as required," he said. Each PACT 220 unit has word editing capability. During message preparation incoming telex connections are automatically answered and stored in the machine's electronic memory instead of the

usual local disconnection. Dialling of regularly called telex numbers can be pre-programmed corresponding to each alphabetical key on the keyboard. "Included in the contract is the establishment of the necessary technical workshops in Zimbabwe covering training, test equipment, documentation and spare sub units," added Mr Forbes. [Text] [Harare BUSINESS HERALD in English 17 Mar 83 p 1]

VARSITY ENROLLMENT--By 5 pm on Friday the University of Zimbabwe had enrolled a total of 3 532 students, full-time, part-time, graduate and undergraduate, a university spokesman said yesterday. About 3 000 people applied for first-year studies and 1 100 were accepted, said the spokesman. By late Friday afternoon, 972 of them had registered. The university expected total enrolment to reach about 3 600 by the end of the week as some students would register late. Last year 3 091 students were registered. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 15 Mar 83 p 1]

MASVINGO VOTER REGISTRATION--Masvingo. The Zanu (PF) Masvingo Province information and publicity secretary, Cde Jeremiah Chisasa, has called for more voters' registration mobile units to be sent to communal areas if all eligible people are to be registered in time for the elections. Cde Chisasa said his office was "greatly worried" at the rate at which the registration exercise was going. About 80 to 90 percent of the province's population had not been registered. Many potential voters were facing problems in travelling to town as they had nowhere to sleep to enable them to register the following day. Buses from rural areas reached Masvingo town very late only to find a long queue and in most cases the office ran out of films and people had to return home in despair having used all the money they had, he said. Cde Chisasa said areas that needed urgent attention were Mwenezi, Chiredzi, Zaka, Bikita and Nyaningwe. Gutu and Masvingo residents were a "bit fortunate" as they were near the Masvingo town registration office.--Ziana. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 83 p 5]

DEFENSE FORCES COMMISSIONERS--Three new members have been appointed to the Defence Forces Service Commission, a body which, among other things, makes regulations "for the general well-being and good administration of the defence forces". Announcing this in Harare this week, a spokesman for the Public Service Commission said the appointments were made by President Banana, acting on the advice of the Prime Minister. The three new members are the director-general of the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, Cde Tirivafi Kangai; Cde Vengai Guni, an advocate in private practice in Harare; and retired Major-General Michael Shute. The appointments took effect on January 31. Two of the new members filled in the vacancies left by the retirement of Cde B. K. Jambaya and Air Commodore D. A. Bradshaw.--ZIS. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 83 p 5]

COMMUNAL LANDS ROADS--The District Development Fund has reconstructed over 2 000 km of road in the communal lands, says the Minister of Local Government and Town Planning, Cde Enos Chikowore. Receiving 41 earth-moving units and spare parts this week from the Japanese Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Seiken Sasaki, the minister said: "The Government will start thinking about tarring

our district roads throughout Zimbabwe within the following four to five financial years. The ideal situation would be to have a complete earth-moving unit for every administrative district." He said the country was still in great need of further aid from "our generous friends". Mr Sasaki said the equipment, which had been given as grant aid, was to be used for road reconstruction. "I recognise that rural development is one of the key tasks in bringing about the country's economic and social development, as well as peace and stability to people's lives," he said. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 83 p 5]

MARX BIRTHPLACE VISITED--A delegation from Zimbabwe will visit Triers, in West Germany, to attend a conference to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, the founder of socialism. The delegation, which consists of the Speaker of the House of Assembly, Cde Didymus Mutasa, and the Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, left Harare yesterday to attend the conference which runs from tomorrow to Wednesday. Among the subjects to be discussed is marxism in Africa and here Cde Mutasa said he would like to make a contribution as he had very definite ideas on socialism. He especially hoped that Third World countries would get to know a little more about what was happening in Zimbabwe. "They must understand the direction in which the Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe, is leading Zimbabwe as this is a very difficult period we are going through." Cde Mutasa also said the importance Zimbabwe attached to the conference "is that of learning from other Third World countries and particularly from well-known students who are knowledgeable in the area of socialism: people who have lived through marxist experiences in the Third World and people who are studying different situations". He said Zimbabwe would benefit a great deal from the experience and anything of value would be brought back so "we can talk about and try to incorporate it in the society". [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 12 Mar 83 p 5]

COFFEE EARNINGS--About 7 000 tonnes of coffee were produced last year earning the country a total of \$17m in foreign exchange, the chairman of the Zimbabwe Coffee Growers' Association, Mr Robert Fennell, has said. In an interview in Manicaland recently, Mr Fennell said it was expected that the production would rise to 10 000 tonnes this year earning the country \$23 million in foreign exchange. The major buyers of Zimbabwe coffee are Sweden, West Germany, Finland and Switzerland. About 5 600 tonnes of coffee are sold to the quarter markets in accordance with the international coffee organisation while the balance is sold to the non-quarter markets at half price. "This aspect is a bottleneck to the expansion of the coffee industry," Mr Fennell said. The big increase in coffee production this year is attributed to more farmers who have taken an interest in the crop, particularly in Chinhoyi and Karoi. Plans are under way to introduce the crop to farmers in the Honde Valley.--ZIS. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 16 Mar 83 p 1]

SEMI-SKILLED APPRENTICES--The exodus of apprentices last year produced some very positive results as semi-skilled workers were upgraded to fill their posts, the Minister of Manpower Planning and Development, Dr Frederick Shava, said yesterday. In an interview with THE HERALD in Harare, the minister said: "Trade tests on semi-skilled workers who had been at their job for

years gave them the legal status to be employed in more appropriate positions. "Nearly 1 500 workers in the aircraft, building, electrical, mechanical and engineering, motor and printing industries and trades were upgraded in this way." The bonded apprentices who completed their apprenticeships last year and those upgraded totalled more than the number of apprentices who left, the minister said. "The effect was therefore minimal and in fact produced positive results. The upgrading of semi-skilled workers also provided more employment opportunities. "We did not regret the departure of the apprentices. They left places vacant for training new applicants and there were no problems in filling those vacancies." Of the apprentices who have returned and asked for their contracts to be renewed, he said 132 have been processed. Two have returned to the aircraft industry, 37 to the electrical industry, 53 to mechanical and engineering, 32 to the motor trade and eight to the printing industry. Many remain unprocessed because there are no vacancies, while others have sought re-employment as semi-skilled workers to benefit from in-house training programmes. They could then be trade-tested to become journeymen, although this was a longer road than apprenticeship, Cde Shava said. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 18 Mar 83 p 1]

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